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THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM THE
FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF THAT MONARCHY,

BROUGHT DOWN TO, AND INCLUDING
A COMPLETE NARRATIVE
OF THE
LATE REVOLUTION.

IN THREE VOLS.—VOL. I.

Res gestæ regumque ducumque, &c. istia bella. Hor.

A NEW EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR C. AND G. KEARSLEY, N^o 46, FLEET-STREET.

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1789

THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION

A COMPLETE NARRATIVE

OF THE



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VOLUME THE FIRST

A NEW EDITION

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PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, ST. PAULS CHURCH-YARD

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P R E F A C E.

THE following performance is with diffidence submitted to the judgment of the public. The difficulties that must have occurred in comprising the principal events of a great kingdom, during more than twelve centuries, within three octavo volumes, may probably entitle them to the candour of the reader: But the author would be inexcusable did he not devote a moment to the mention of the different authorities on which the work is founded.

In French he has diligently consulted the Histories of Daniel, Mezeray, and Henault; the Memoirs of Sully and De Retz; the Histories of Lewis the Fourteenth and Fifteenth, by Voltaire; and Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws.

In English he is principally indebted to Mr. Wraxall's Memoirs of the Race of Valois, Dr. Robertson's History of Charles the Fifth, Watson's History of Philip the Second, and Hume's History of England; nor would he wish to conceal that in some few instances, where he found it necessary to convey the exact sense of these writers, he should have thought it presumption to have altered their expressions.

PREFACE

THE following publication is with pleasure
and in the judgment of the Editor, this collection
which have occurred in connection with the
great question, being now the subject of
warm discussion, may be said to be
to the readers of the work: But the Editor would be
responsible for the fact that the collection is
of the different authorities on which the work is founded.

In which he has differently selected the following
English, French, and German; the Memoirs of St.
and the Roman; the History of the French
and the French; by Voltaire; and the History of the
French.

In English is published in the following
Memoirs of the French; the History of the
of Charles the First; the History of the
English; and the History of the French; and the
and the French; and the French; and the French;
it is necessary to state the fact that the work
is published in the following: the French; the French;
the French; the French; the French; the French;

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THE
HISTORY
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Chapter the First.

ORIGIN AND FIRST EXPEDITIONS OF THE FRANKS.—
REIGN OF CLOVIS;—HIS VICTORIES OVER THE RO-
MANS, THE ALEMANNI, THE BURGUNDIANS, AND THE
VISIGOTHS;—HIS CONVERSION TO THE CHRISTIAN
FAITH;—DIVISION OF HIS EMPIRE BETWEEN HIS
SONS, THIERRI, CLODOMIR, CHILDEBERT, AND CLO-
TAIRE.—SUCCESSION AND EXTINCTION OF THE MERO-
VINGIAN RACE.

WHILE the Roman Empire, under the
joint government of Valerian and Gallienus, was
attacked on every side by the blind fury of fo-
reign invaders, the name and warlike spirit of the
Franks were first revealed to the astonished and
trembling natives of Spain and Africa. The ori-
gin of these martial barbarians, whose posterity

compose one of the most powerful and enlightened monarchies of Europe, has employed every effort of learning and ingenuity; Panonia, Gaul, and the northern parts of Germany, have successively claimed, and been allowed the honour of their birth: But these discordant opinions are rejected by the most rational critics; and it is now generally supposed, that about the two hundred and fortieth year of the christian
A. D. 240. æra, under the reign of the emperor Gordian, a confederacy was formed by the inhabitants of the lower Rhine and the Weser: These assumed the honourable name of FRANKS, or FREEMEN; and the laws of their union, which at first were dictated by mutual advantage, were confirmed by gradual experience.

The Rhine, the boasted safeguard of the Roman provinces, proved but a feeble barrier against these enterprising confederates; the devastations of the Franks stretched from
A. D. 260. that river to the spot of the Pyrenees; their army penetrated through the passes of those difficult mountains; and Tarragona, the capital of a peaceful province, was sacked and almost destroyed by their rapacious fury. For twelve years, while the imperial sceptre was feebly swayed by Gallienus, Spain was the theatre of their destructive hostilities; the ports of the exhausted country supplied them with vessels to transport themselves

selves into Mauritania; and Africa beheld with terror and astonishment the manners and habits, the complexion and ferocious courage, of these new invaders:

In the reign of Probus, the Franks were compelled by the victorious arms of that monarch to repass the Rhine, and to shelter themselves in the flat maritime country A. D. 277. which they had previously occupied, intersected and overflowed by the stagnating waters of the redundant river; but a colony established by the emperor on the sea-coast of Pontus, animated by their unconquerable love of freedom, seized a fleet stationed in the harbours of the Euxine, and resolved to explore their way from the mouth of the Phasis, to that of the Rhine. They escaped through the Bosphorus and Hellespont, and spread their depredations along the coasts of the Mediterranean; the defenceless and unsuspecting shores of Asia, Greece, and Africa were afflicted by their frequent descents; the city of Syracuse was surprised, her treasures rifled, and her inhabitants massacred. Thence directing their course to the columns of Hercules, they committed themselves to the wide expanse of the ocean; and steering through the British channel, landed triumphant on the Batavian or Frisian shores.

During a long period of barbaric darkness, the Franks are concealed from our view; but they

emerged again when the throne of Valentinian the Third was shaken by the Scythian torrent, and Attila poured on the empire the tempest of his arms. The Franks, who had already established the right of hereditary succession in the Merovingian race, eagerly seized the favourable moment of enterprise, and embraced the opportunity of extending the limits of their monarchy, still confined to the neighbourhood of the Rhine. Dispargum, a village between Louvain and Brussels, was the residence of Clodion, the first of their kings mentioned in authentic history: Informed by his spies of the defenceless state of the adjacent country, he pressed through that part
A. D. 440. of the forest of Ardennes between the Scheld and the Meuse, occupied the cities of Tournay and Cambray, and extended his conquests as far as the river Somme. Though surprised and routed by the Roman general Ætius, he soon retrieved his strength and reputation, and maintained the possession of his new acquisitions. But his death exposed his kingdom to the discord and ambition of his two sons; and while the elder sought the formidable alliance of Attila, the Scythian monarch, the younger implored and obtained the protection of the court of Rome.

The western empire of Rome, separated from that of the east, already rapidly verged towards its dissolution; and the authority of Odoacer, a
barbarian

barbarian mercenary, was extinguished by the reign of Theodoric the Ostrogoth; when the kindred tribes of the Franks seated along the Scheld and the Meuse, the Moselle and the Rhine, were attracted by the superior merit of Clovis, who had succeeded to the command of the Salic tribe by the death of his father Childeric. The narrow limits of his kingdom were confined to the island of the Batavians, with the ancient dioceses of Tournay and Arras; but his martial bands were swelled by the voluntary allegiance of his countrymen; and his victorious banner was followed by the warriors, who, though governed by the independent kings of the Merovingian race, were free to share the fortunes of a popular and successful general.

Ægidius, a noble Roman, and the master-general of Gaul, had established an independent sovereignty beyond the Alps. When the Franks were dissatisfied with the youthful follies of Childeric their king, they entrusted the sceptre to the hand of the Roman general; but as soon as the fickle barbarians repented of their injury to the Merovingian race, the restoration of the lawful prince was prudently acquiesced in by the moderation of Ægidius: Syagrius, his son, with the authority at least, if not with the title of king, possessed the city and diocese of Soissons, with Rheims and Troyes, Beauvais and Amiens. The glory of the

B 3

father,

father, with the power of the son, excited the jealousy and ambition of Clovis; and Syagrius accepted the hostile defiance of his rival, and appointed the day and the field of battle. The Roman chief, with his disorderly multitude, was vanquished by the intrepid Franks at Nogent, about ten miles from Soissons: The unfortunate Ægidius in vain escaped to the distant court of Toulouse; he was surrendered to the menaces of the victor. The Belgic cities, Soissons, Rheims, Provence, Sens, Troyes, and Auxerre, opened their gates to the triumphant Clovis; whose dominions towards the east were enlarged by the diocese of Tongres, a conquest which he achieved in the tenth year of his reign.

The Alemanni had spread themselves in Gaul over the modern provinces of Lorrain and Alsace, and their invasion of the kingdom of Cologne summoned Clovis to the defence of his kinsman and ally. In the plains of Tolbiac, A.D. 495. twenty-four miles from the city of Cologne, the two armies encountered each other with equal valour and mutual animosity. In the first onset the ranks of the Franks were broken, and the shouts of the Alemanni proclaimed their hopes of victory; But the battle was restored by the skill and example of Clovis; the Franks returned to the charge, and their transient disgrace was

was effaced by a cruel slaughter. The Alemanni in vain endeavoured to shelter themselves in the deep recesses of their forests; their king, the last who could boast that title, perished in the field; and his subjects were preserved only by the moderation of the conqueror, who condescended to accept their submission, and permitted them, while they acknowledged his sovereignty, to retain their peculiar manners and institutions, under the government of official, and at length, hereditary dukes.

Clovis had been early educated, and persevered until the thirtieth year of his age, in the errors of paganism: But although he had hitherto rejected or disregarded the evidence of christianity, his subjects of Gaul enjoyed the free and uncontrouled exercise of their religious worship. He had espoused in the fair Clotilda, the niece of the king of Burgundy, a zealous catholic; and the influence of the queen was incessantly directed towards the conversion of her husband. Some superstitious fears were excited in Clovis by the death of their infant son, who had been purified in the fount of baptism; but he was persuaded to renew the sacred experiment; and in the battle of Tolbiac, when the broken ranks of the Franks were pressed by the Alemanni, Clovis loudly invoked the god of Clotilda, and of the christians: His decisive victory contributed to confirm his wavering mind; he

listened respectfully to the holy eloquence of Remigius, the bishop of Rheims, and declared himself fully satisfied of the truth of the catholic faith. Political reasons might suspend for some time his public avowal; but in the sixteenth year A.D. 496. of his reign the important ceremony of his baptism was performed with solemn magnificence in the cathedral of Rheims; and on the same day three thousand of his obedient subjects imitated the devout example of their sovereign. The mind of Clovis had been affected by the pathetic tale of the Passion and the Death of Christ; and insensible of the beneficial consequences of the mysterious sacrifice, he exclaimed, with religious fervour, "Had I been present with my valiant Franks, I would have revenged his injuries." But though he publicly professed to acknowledge the truth of the gospel, the mild precepts which it inculcated were but little respected by the aspiring barbarian; after dismissing a Synod of the Gallican church, he calmly assassinated all the princes of the Merovingian race; and the only monarch in the christian world free from the stain or imputation of heresy, was perpetually employed in the aggrandizement of his dominions by the violation of every moral and religious duty.

The conquests of Clovis were equally achieved by his head and hand, and even his conversion contributed

contributed to promote his ambition. The independent cities of Gaul were influenced by their prelates to acknowledge the jurisdiction of a catholic king; the Armorican provinces, (a name which comprehended the maritime country of Gaul, between the Seine and the Loire,) abandoned by the Romans, had united for their defence, and under the form of a free government had endeavoured to repel the desultory descents of the northern pirates. Though the instable foundation of their republic had been repeatedly shaken, yet they guarded with vigilance their domestic freedom, and asserted the dignity of the Roman name. The valour they had displayed in repelling the attacks of Clovis, excited the esteem of that martial monarch, and their successful opposition produced an honourable union; they accepted without reluctance the generous capitulation of a catholic hero, and the power and strength A.D. 497. of the son of Childeric were increased to a formidable height by these voluntary accessions; but the reduction of the northern provinces of Gaul was the gradual operation of war and negociation; and Clovis acquired each object of his ambition by the united efforts of force and art.

The kingdom of the Burgundians extended from the forest of Vosges to the Alps and to the sea of Marseilles. Gondebaud, the uncle of Clotilda, who held the sceptre, to secure his throne from domestic

domestic contention, had sacrificed the lives of two of his brothers, one of whom was the father of the queen of the Franks; a third brother, Godegesil, had been spared by his policy or humanity, and was suffered to possess the dependent principality of Geneva. The faith of Gondebaud was stained with Arianism, but his subjects were strongly inclined to the orthodox religion; and his brother Godegesil conspired with Clovis, who was stimulated by inordinate ambition, holy zeal, and a desire to revenge the murder of the father of Clotilda. In a battle fought between Langres and Dijon, Gondebaud, deserted by A. D. 500. Godegesil, was forced to yield to the treachery of his brother and the irresistible valour of the Franks; he abandoned to the pursuit of Clovis the important cities of Lyons and Vienne, and fled with precipitation to Avignon: The impetuous ardour of the victor was checked by the siege of that city; the vigour and resolution of Gondebaud induced the son of Childeric to listen to terms of accommodation; a certain annual tribute was stipulated; a considerable sum of money was immediately disbursed to satisfy the demands of the Franks; and Godegesil was confirmed in the possession of Vienne, and several other places which he had occupied during the course of the war.

The army of Clovis had scarce retired from the territories

territories of Gondebaud, before that monarch prepared to efface his disgrace, and avenge the treason of his brother. He assembled with diligence an army at Lyons, and advanced with rapidity towards Vienne, which was garrisoned by five thousand Franks, commanded by Godegesil in person. The secret passage of an aqueduct was revealed to Gondebaud by a perfidious citizen; in the silent hour of night, a chosen band entered the subterraneous channel; they instantly seized the most important posts; the gates were thrown open to their companions; the Franks who escaped the sword, were sent prisoners to the king of the Visigoths; and by the death of Godegesil, the king of Burgundy a third time, in the same city, stained his hands with fraternal blood.

The capture of Vienne was followed by the submission of the other cities which had been occupied by Godegesil; the inhabitants acknowledged the authority, and implored the clemency of their lawful sovereign, who declared to Clovis that he must no longer expect that tribute he had presumed to extort. Although the pride of the king of the Franks must have been sensibly wounded by this declaration, though he could not be indifferent to the fate of his subjects and the death of his ally, yet the conqueror of Gaul dissembled the injury, released the tribute, and accepted the alliance

alliance and military service of the king of Burgundy.

The kingdom of the Visigoths, established by the great Alaric in the southern provinces of Gaul, had, during the reign of Theodoric his son, acquired strength and maturity; after the death of

Theodoric, who fell in the battle of A. D. 451.

Chalons defending the Roman empire against the invasion of Attila the king of the Huns, his sceptre passed to his eldest son, Thorismond; who was assassinated by his brother Theodoric the Second; that prince experienced the same fate from Euric, a third brother; and the ambition of Euric aspired to extinguish the Roman authority in Spain and Gaul. After reducing in the former province the cities of Saragossa and Pampeluna, and penetrating into the heart of Lusitania, he passed the Pyrenees; from those mountains, with the exception of Berry and Auvergne, he extended his conquests to the Rhone and the Loire. His premature death delivered the neighbouring barbarians from the dread of his growing power; his throne was inadequately filled by the feeble youth of his son Alaric; and the long peace which had enervated the martial spirit of the Visigoths, the inexperience of their sovereign, and the implacable zeal of orthodoxy, prompted Clovis to invade the peaceful and Arian kingdom of Alaric.

In

In the city of Paris, which he already considered as the royal seat of government, the king of the Franks proposed to his nobles and warriors the Gothic expedition. "It is with concern," said he, "I suffer the Arians to possess the most fertile part of Gaul; let us, with the aid of God, march against them, and having conquered them, annex their kingdom to our dominions." The Franks applauded the religious ardour of their sovereign; and Clovis, in conformity with the piety of the age, having vowed to erect a church in honour of the holy apostles, prepared to march against a prince, whose friendship he had recently cultivated by the most solemn professions of regard.

Although Alaric was destitute of military experience, in personal courage he was not inferior to his aspiring rival: The Visigoths, long disused to war, once more resumed their arms, and crowded round the standard of their youthful king; but their presumptuous valour was unequally opposed to the discipline and veteran intrepidity of the Franks. In the decisive battle fought on the banks of the Clain, about ten miles to the south of Poitiers, the Goths were A.D. 507. totally routed, and pursued with a cruel slaughter. Alaric, disdainful to fly, rushed against his royal antagonist, and obtained an honourable death from the hand of Clovis. An infant son, a bastard

tard competitor, factious nobles, and a disloyal people, facilitated the progress of the victor. Aquitaine readily submitted; and the king of the Franks, without further opposition, established his winter quarters at Bourdeaux.

In the ensuing spring, Thoulouse surrendered; the royal treasures of that capital were
A. D. 508. transported to Paris; and the walls of Angouleme fell before the fortune of the conqueror. But the rapid career of Clovis was checked by the policy and power of Theodoric, the king of the Ostrogoths; that prince, with the concurrence of the Roman emperor of the east, had delivered Italy from the usurpation of Odoacer the Mercenary, and established in it the seat of his own independent sovereignty. The monarch of Italy had espoused Albofleda, the sister of Clovis, and had also bestowed his daughter in marriage on the late king of the Visigoths. He had in vain endeavoured to maintain, by mediation, the tranquillity of Gaul; and early educated in the profession of Arianism, he was influenced by religious as well as political motives, to oppose the ambition of Clovis, and to preserve the remaining possessions of the kindred Visigoths. He declared himself the protector and guardian of the infant son of Alaric; and Clovis, who had formed the siege of Arles, was defeated with the loss of thirty thousand men, and was forced to re-

treat with disgrace before the general of the great Theodoric: Yet the Franks still retained the greatest part of their late acquisitions; and the ample province of Aquitain, from the Pyrenees to the Loire, was indissolubly annexed to the French monarchy.

The honours of the Roman consulship, which had been conferred on the king of Italy by Zeno, the emperor of the east, was by his successor Anastasius, granted to the king of the Franks. Amidst the shouts of the joyful multitude, who incessantly repeated the acclamations of consul and Augustus, Clovis entered the cathedral of Tours, after being invested in the church of St. Martin with a purple tunic and mantle. By these honorary distinctions the actual authority of the monarch of Gaul was not augmented; but the Romans were disposed to revere in the person of their master the consular title, and the emperors by these marks of friendship and alliance, tacitly ratified the conquests of the son of Childeric.

A. D. 509.

The ties of consanguinity, the precepts of the pure religion he had so lately professed, were not sufficient to restrain the ambition of Clovis; his throne was cemented by the blood of his kinsmen, the Merovingian princes.

A. D. 510.

Among other victims to his insatiate thirst of power, we discern Sigibert, the king of Cologne, with

with his son Clodoric; Cararic, whose dominions are not precisely ascertained; Ranacane, who reigned over the diocese of Cambray; and Renomer, whose independent authority was acknowledged by the territory of Maine: Yet these cruelties were in the eyes of the clergy expiated by his holy ardour in the cause of christianity; and a barbarous age was eager to admire and applaud the orthodox zeal and liberal-piety of the son of Childeric.

In the last year of the reign of Clovis he reformed and published the Salic laws; a few lines of these, which debar women from inheriting any part of the Salic lands, have been applied as precluding females from the succession to the crown of France; and the origin and nature of these laws have perplexed and exercised the ingenuity of our most learned and sagacious critics. The promulgation of this artless system of jurisprudence was soon after followed by the death of the monarch himself, who expired at Paris in the forty-fifth year of his age and the thirtieth year of his reign. Among his contemporaries, the valour and victories of Clovis certainly allowed him to claim the foremost rank; but his valour was stained with cruelty, and his victories obscured by injustice. In the invasion of the Burgundians and Visigoths, the most partial historians have described him as the aggressor; and though
in

in the battle of Tolbiac his sword was drawn against the Alemanni in the defence of his ally and kinsman Sigebert, yet he soon after hesitated not to secure his throne by the death of that very ally in whose cause he had triumphed. His ruling passion was to render himself absolute monarch of all Gaul; and he may be considered as more fortunate in the execution of his designs than justifiable in the means he employed. In private life, after his conversion to christianity, he was chaste and temperate; nor does it appear that the husband of Clotilda ever violated the purity of the marriage-bed.

The conduct and character of the Founder of the French monarchy, naturally excite our curiosity and enquiries; but it is not consistent with the limits of this work to bestow an equal degree of attention on his immediate successors. His dominions were divided between four sons; Clodomir, Childebert, and Clotaire, the children of Clotilda, reigned with independent authority over Orleans, Paris, and Soissons; and Thierri, the illegitimate offspring of Clovis before his marriage, possessed the greatest part of Aquitain, and erecting a new kingdom under the name of Austrasia, fixed the seat of his government at Metz.

The sons of Clotilda were prompted by ambition, and the reproaches of their implacable mother, desirous of avenging the death of her father.

on the family of the assassin, to invade the kingdom of Burgundy. Gondebaud was no more; and his son and successor, Sigismund, was stained with the blood of an infant child, whom he inhumanly had sacrificed to the pride and resentment of a step-mother. The Burgundian monarch, who had too late discovered his error, was aroused from the prostrate posture of penitence, to defend his crown and life against the rapacious invaders

of his country: His efforts were in vain; A. D. 523.

he was defeated in a decisive battle, deserted by his subjects, and, with his wife and two of his children, was buried alive in a deep well, by the stern command of the sons of Clovis. His brother Godemar still maintained the war; but his forces, in a second battle, were routed by Clodomir: yet the victory proved fatal

to the victor; and Clodomir, entangled A. D. 524. in the pursuit, was in the moment of triumph surrounded and slain. Of his two sons, the elder was afterwards massacred, and the younger was immured in a convent by the boundless ambition of their uncles.

The arms of Childebert and Clotaire achieved the final conquest of Burgundy; overwhelmed the remaining possessions of the Visigoths, whose youthful king, Amalaric, sunk into the grave;

and divided the Dominions of their A. D. 524, 558. late brother Clodomir. But an alliance

founded

founded in guilt was not likely to be of long duration; their friendship was soon interrupted by mutual complaints, and at length gave way to open hostilities. A temporary reconciliation was with difficulty effected; and the natural death of Childeberr preserved Clotaire from the commission of a crime which he had long contemplated, if not with pleasure, at least without horror.

During these various transactions, Thierri, the king of Austrasia, acquired by arms the possession of Thuringia, and bequeathed it with the rest of his dominions to his son Theodebert; who reduced under his authority Auvergne, resisted the ambitious enterprizes of his uncles, Childeberr and Clotaire, and invaded with impartial rapacity the Italian territories of the Ro- A. D.
mans and the Ostrogoths. His prema- 511, 553-
ture death placed the Austrasian sceptre in the hands of his natural son Theodebalde; and on the demise of that prince, his subjects consented to acknowledge as their sovereign Clotaire, who by the subsequent decease of Childeberr united the dominions of Clovis under his sole government.

Clotaire had scarce time to taste the joys of undivided empire before he was summoned by death, to account for the means by which he had acquired it; and his four sons immediately divided the kingdom which he had cemented at the

expenditure of so much blood. Paris fell by lot to
A. D. 562, 613. Caribert; Orleans and Burgundy to
Gontran; Austrasia to Sigebert; and
Soissons to Childebert. The death of Caribert
once more kindled the flames of discord among
the Merovingian princes; and a temporary compro-
mise, which divided the city of Paris into three
parts and confined each prince to his separate
district, was not likely to extinguish the glowing
embers. It is unnecessary to disgust the reader
with the uninteresting series of fraternal discord,
or the immortal hatred of Brunehaut, the wife of
Sigebert, and Fredegonde, first the concubine
and afterwards the consort of Chilperic. During
successive years open violence and secret in-
trigue, the sword and the dagger alternately in-
terrupted the tranquillity of the subject, and as-
sailed the life of the sovereign. Sigebert was as-
sassinated at the instigation of Chilperic; and
that prince himself was afterwards doomed to
experience the same perfidy as he had practised
against his brother. His son, Clotaire the Se-
cond, then only four months old, was pro-
tected in the possession of Soissons by his uncle
Gontran, the king of Burgundy, against Childe-
bert, the son and successor of Sigebert of Austrasia.
The death of Gontran devolved his domi-
nions on the Austrasian monarch, who in vain re-
newed his attempts on the youthful king of Sois-
sons;

sons; and expiring soon after, left his kingdom and his two infant sons the victims of their own ambition, and of the artifices of the very prince whom he himself had endeavoured to oppress.

The different provinces of Gaul again obeyed the authority of a single master, and the sole power which had been possessed A. D. 613. by Clotaire the First was revived in his grandson, Clotaire the Second; who during fifteen years held the reins of government with a steady hand, and chastised, in a signal victory, the insolence of the Saxons. On his death, his eldest son, A. D. 628. Dagobert, who had already received from his father the crown of Austrasia, succeeded to the kingdoms of Neustria, (which comprised the country between the Meuse and the Loire,) and Burgundy: To his younger brother, Caribert, he assigned a part of Aquitain, with the royal city of Toulouse. The decease of Caribert, who enjoyed his transient sovereignty but three years, was followed in a few days by that of his son Chilperic, who was supposed to fall a victim to the ambition of his uncle; and Aquitain again was annexed to the crown of France, and to the dominions of Dagobert. An unsuccessful war with the Slavonians induced this monarch to resign the sceptre of Austrasia to his eldest son, Sigebert; and the death of the former after a reign A. D. 628. of ten years, confirmed Sigebert in the

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possession of Austrasia, and devolved on him the kingdoms of Neustria and Burgundy.

From this period, the lustre of the Merovingian princes is overshadowed by the power of their subjects, the mayors of the palace: In Austrasia, the names of Sigebert, Dagobert, Childeric, and Childeric successively, but darkly, mark the administrations of Pepin and his son Grimoalde: In Neustria and Burgundy, Clovis the Second, and Clotaire the Third, were obscured by the authority of Archambaud and Ebroin. After a discordant æra of internal revolutions, Austrasia was re-united to Neustria and Burgundy,

under the sole name of Thierri, the A. D. 673.

son of Clotaire the Third; but the government was entirely entrusted to Ebroin, the mayor of the palace, whose boundless ambition and bloody tyranny provoked the revolt of the nobility of Austrasia: These elected as their independent dukes Martin and Pepin, already united by the ties of blood. The forces of the confederates were defeated by Ebroin; and Martin, who had surrendered the city of Laon on a promise of safety, was beheaded by the perfidious mayor. But Pepin had employed each moment of the siege in recruiting his shattered forces; and the

assassination of Ebroin, by the hand of A. D. 688. a private enemy, delivered him from

an

an active and implacable rival, and opened the road of greatness to the Carlovingian princes.

The arms of Pepin, surnamed d'Heristal from his palace on the Meuse in the neighbourhood of Liege, soon after the death of Ebroin penetrated into the Vermandois, and defeated the royal army commanded by the new minister Bertaire and animated by the presence of Thierri himself; this victory rendered Pepin master of the capital, the finances, and the person of the king. While he engrossed the public authority, he affected to treat the captive monarch with every mark of external respect: and the proud claims of successful usurpation were concealed beneath the veil of apparent humility. During the various nominal reigns of Thierri, Clovis the Third, Childebert, and Dagobert, he maintained his power unshaken and undiminished; and his repeated triumphs over the Frisons, the Alemanni and the Bavarians, confirmed his influence and extended his reputation: The latter years of his life were embittered by the loss of his son Grimoalde, who fell a victim to the envy of the nobility; but his death was severely revenged by Pepin, who soon afterwards terminated with his last breath, a prosperous administration of twenty-six years, having previously appointed his grandson Theudoalde, then only six years old, the mayor of the palace.

A. D. 690.

A. D. 714.

From a race of princes destitute of virtue and ability, we turn with pleasure to their powerful ministers, whose enterprising counsels and steady valour augmented the glory, and protected the dominions, of the French empire. The infant years of Theudoalde were indeed oppressed by the jealousy of his sovereign Dagobert, and the defeat of his adherents was soon followed by his

death : But the tottering house of Pe-
A. D. 755.

pin was propped by the splendid talents of his illegitimate son Charles, who, amidst the alternate vicissitudes of fortune, displayed a magnanimity of mind worthy of his father. Bursting from the bands of enthrallment, he was received with open arms by the Austrasians, raised to the dignity of duke, and entrusted with the absolute command of their forces ; though encompassed by difficulties, his genius rose superior to his

situation. The death of Dagobert reliev-
A. D. 716.

ed him from an antagonist, who displayed a degree of spirit uncommon in the degenerate Merovingian race ; and the election of Chilperic from the cloyster, presented a competitor whose virtues were unequal to pierce through the mists of a monkish education. In his retreat through the forest of Arden, the camp of the incautious

monarch was surprised by the vigilant
March 19,
A. D. 717.

Charles ; and in a more considerable
action

action between Arras and Cambray, the royal forces fled before the victorious Austrasians.

The distress of Chilperic prompted him to negotiate an alliance with Eudes, duke of Aquitain; who during these troubles had occupied all the Franks formerly possessed on the other side of the Loire; the friendship of Eudes was purchased by the solemn cession of the country he had seized. To encounter with equal arms his adversaries, Charles, in imitation of the policy of his father Pepin, raised to the throne A. D. 719. in Clotaire a new phantom of royalty; and advancing rapidly to Soissons, surprised by his unexpected appearance the confederate princes. The host of Chilperic and Eudes gradually dissolved before the presence of the hero; and the duke of Aquitain, hopeless of success, accepted from Charles the same terms as he had stipulated with Chilperic, and delivered the Merovingian king into the hands of the duke of Austrasia.

The misfortunes of the unhappy Chilperic, whose conduct has procured him an honourable exemption from the list of indolent princes, received some alleviation from the respectful treatment he experienced. On the death of Clotaire, Charles caused him to be acknowledged king of Austrasia, and sovereign of all the dominions of the Franks; but from this moment, the administration was absolutely vested in the mayors of the palace; and the

obscure names of successive Merovingian princes, whose feeble characters are described by the epithet *faineants*, *lazy*, have almost eluded the researches of the historian.

One competitor still rejected the authority and opposed the arms of Charles; and Rainfroy, who had been appointed by Dagobert the mayor of the palace, obtained from his vigorous defence an advantageous treaty with the peaceable enjoyment of the country of Anjou. The indefatigable efforts of Charles had no sooner triumphed over domestic foes than he prepared to encounter the foreign enemies of the state: His life was successfully and incessantly exercised in the cabinet and the field; the Suevians and
 A. D. 725. Frisians were vanquished; the haughty spirit of the Alemanni was broken by reiterated victories; twice he baffled the perfidious enter-
 A. D. 731. prises of Eudes, and by the invasion of Aquitain, taught him in future to observe the faith he had pledged: The distress of that prince soon summoned Charles to his relief; and the duke of the Franks, in the defence of the religion of Christ, prepared to erect a noble monument to his own glory.

In the rapid growth of little more than a century, the faith of Mahomet had over-shadowed the provinces of the east; the victorious Saracens had penetrated into Europe, occupied Spain, passed

ed the Pyrenees, and appeared under the walls of Thoulouse. Near that city, in an obstinate engagement with Eudes, the lieutenant of the Caliph lost his life and army: But the faithful were not dismayed by adversity; the barrier of the Pyrenees was once more burst; the south of France submitted to the religion of Arabia; and Eudes, defeated by Abderame, the leader of the Saracens, was reduced to solicit the protection and implore the assistance of the duke of the Franks.

The forces of the confederates were commanded by Charles and Eudes; between Tours and Poitiers the christian religion was vindicated against the followers of Mahomet. During six days of desultory combat, the archers and horsemen of the east maintained A. D. 732. their wonted superiority; but on the seventh, the host of the Saracens was oppressed by the robust stature and nervous courage of the warriors of the west. On that memorable occasion, the weighty strokes of Charles first acquired him the surname of *Martel*, the *Hammer*; the bloody field was strewed with Abderame himself, and, if we credit the monkish writers, three hundred and seventy-five thousand Mahometans. But though this number is, doubtless, exaggerated, the victory was complete; the chiefs of the Saracens, amidst the terror of the night, provided each for his separate safety;

safety; and Aquitain was recovered by the arms of Eudes.

A second irruption of the Mussulmen into Provence revived the laurels of the invincible Martel, who in a decisive battle humbled again the Frisians, and slew their duke with his own hand. On the death of Eudes, Charles granted Aquitain to Hunalde, the son of that prince, reserving to himself the claim of homage without mentioning Thierri, who had succeeded to Chilperic as titular monarch, and who expired soon after. The ambitious mayor of the palace no longer deigned to conceal his authority beneath the sanction of the Merovingian name, and without appointing any successor to Thierri, ruled the empire of France with absolute power. His weighty mediation with the Lombards engaged the gratitude of pope Gregory the third; and the Roman pontiff sent him the keys of the tomb of St. Peter, offered to shake off his dependence on the emperor, and to proclaim Charles consul of Rome; but while the duke of the Franks favourably regarded and encouraged this negotiation, the persons most interested in it, pope Gregory the third, Leo the third emperor of the east, and Charles Martel himself, within a few successive months, expired.

On the twenty-second of October,
A.D. 741. after an uninterrupted career of prosperity,

perity, during an administration of twenty-two years from the battle of Cambray, Charles Martel breathed his last in the fiftieth year of his age. Although his victories over the Saracens most probably preserved Europe from the impending yoke of Mahomet, yet the future happiness of the saviour of Christendom has been impeached by the legends of the monks; and the clergy, who resented the freedom with which he applied the revenues of the church to the defence of the christian religion, have not hesitated to enroll him among the damned: In a letter addressed to Lewis, the grandson of Charlemagne, it is asserted, that on opening the tomb of Charles Martel, the spectators were affrighted by the smell of fire and the aspect of an horrid dragon; and that a saint of the times was indulged with a vision of the soul and body of the founder of the Carlovingian race burning in the abyss of hell.

In an assembly of the nobles, a short time previous to his death, Charles assigned to his eldest son, Carloman, Austrasia; and to his second son, Pepin, surnamed *the Short*, Neustria and Burgundy; to a third son, the issue of a second marriage, he only allotted some lands in France; and the resentment of Grippon soon disturbed the tranquillity of his brothers. With the aid of his mother Sonnechilde he occupied the city of Laon, and surrendered not till he had endured a close
and

and vigorous siege. Sonnechilde was by the victors dismissed to a convent; and Grippon was confined in a castle in the forest of Arden.

The prejudice which might have attended the division of the empire, was averted by the entire harmony which prevailed between the two brothers, Carloman and Pepin. To restrain the turbulent disposition of the nobles, the
A. D. 742. latter restored in Childeric, the son of Thierry, the regal title; but Carloman, though he assented to the propriety of this measure in Neustria and Burgundy, ruled Austrasia, which he considered as hereditary in his family, with independent authority: the intrigues of their mother-in-law soon compelled the two brothers to vindicate their different titles by arms: That enterprising woman had negotiated a marriage between Hiltrude, the sister of Carloman and Pepin, and Odilon the duke of Bavaria. The Bavarian, instigated by Sonnechilde, and alarmed at the growing power of the sons of Martel, formed a confederacy with Theodebald, duke of the Alemanni, and Theodoric the duke of the Saxons; a formidable army was assembled, and the allies, to cover their country and protect their camp, cautiously posted themselves with the river Lech in their front.

Carloman and Pepin were not ignorant of their danger, nor unacquainted with the designs of the confederates ;

confederates; at the head of their faithful Franks they advanced towards the enemy, passed the river at different fords at the silent hour of night, and at the same moment attacked the camp of the allies. During five hours A. D. 743. the action was maintained with persevering valour; but at length the entrenchments were forced on every side; the dominions of the Bavarians and Saxons were delivered to the rapacity of the victorious soldiers; and the dukes gladly embraced the offer of pardon, on the renewal of their homage and a solemn promise of future fidelity.

During the absence of the two brothers, Hunalde, duke of Aquitain, in consequence of his engagements with Odilon, passed the Loire, ravaged the open country, and consumed with fire the magnificent cathedral and the greatest part of the city of Chartres. On the approach of the Franks, he hastily retreated; and in the ensuing year the insult was avenged by the presence of Pepin at the head of a numerous army.

A. D. 744. Aquitain was doomed to expiate by the calamities of war the crime of her sovereign; and Hunalde, tormented with the pangs of disappointed ambition, resigned his dominions to his son, and retired to a convent.

Far different were the motives which influenced Carloman to embrace a life of religious solitude; even in the moment of triumph, in the midst of successive

ſucceſſive victories, he conceived the deſign of ſecluding himſelf from the follies and vices of the world in the ſilent gloom of a cloyſter. In vain did his brother Pepin, at leaſt with the appearance of ſincerity, labour to diſſuade him from a deſign ſo grateful to his own ambition: Firm and unalterable in his reſolution, after humbling the rebellious nations of Germany, Carloman aſſumed the monaſtick habit, and fixed his final A. D. 746. reſidence in a Benedictine abbey on Mount Caſſin. But while he dedicated the remainder of his life to retirement and religion, his manly mind deſpiſed the aſterities of the Aſcetics, who mortified their affections as the price of eternal happineſs.

The undivided adminiſtration of the empire of the Franks was, by the abdication of Carloman, veſted in the hands of Pepin; and we are pleaſed to diſcover in the treatment of his younger brother, a proof of the regret with which he acquieſced in the ſeceſſion of his elder. Griſſon was immediately releaſed from his tedious confinement, entrusted with the juriſdiction of a large domain, and the expenditure of a conſiderable revenue: Adverſity might have damped, but it had not extinguished the latent flame of ambition; he once more incited the duke of the Saxons to ſupport his claims by the terror of a foreign invaſion. the arms of Pepin triumphed again; the Saxons were

were routed; their duke Theodoric, the captive of the victor, was from that moment buried in oblivion; and his subjects purchased their pardon by the sacrifice of their religion, and purified themselves in the baptismal fount from the crime of rebellion. A. D. 747.

The death of Odilon, duke of Bavaria, devolved his sceptre on his infant son Tassilon; and his widow Hiltrude readily offered an asylum to her half-brother, the fugitive Grippon.

A. D. 748.
Assisted by a strong body of malecontent Franks, the perfidious suppliant seized his sister and her son, and usurped the dukedom of Bavaria: But his transient power vanished on the approach of Pepin; Tassilon was once more restored to his dominions; and Grippon, again pardoned by his brother, again endeavoured to awake the dormant embers of faction; and escaping from the city of Mans, sought protection in the court of the duke of Aquitain.

The enemies of Pepin were crushed by his valour, his friends were multiplied by his liberality; all the powers of royalty had been exercised by the mayors of the palace, and the regal title was only wanting to confirm the succession, and gratify the ambition of the descendants of Charles Martel. The Franks were perplexed between the name and substance of their government; and the mayor and nobles were bound by a solemn oath

of fidelity to the feeble Childeric. Their common ambassadors addressed pope Zachary to dispel their scruples and absolve their promise; and the Roman pontiff pronounced, that it was lawful to transfer the regal dignity from hands incapable of maintaining it to those which had so successfully preserved it; and that the nation might unite in the same person the authority and title of king. An answer so agreeable to the wishes of the Franks was received with tumultuous approbation; the unfortunate Childeric was degraded, shaved, and immured for ever in a monastery; and the final extinction of the blood of Clovis was forgotten in the rising glories of the Carlovingian race.

Chapter the Second.

THE MONARCHS OF THE CARLOVINGIAN RACE.—REIGN AND DEATH OF PEPIN THE SHORT.—ACCESSION OF CHARLEMAGNE, KING OF FRANCE AND EMPEROR OF THE WEST;—HIS VICTORIES IN AQUITAIN, SPAIN, ITALY, AND GERMANY;—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER.—THE REIGN OF LEWIS LE DEBBOINAIRE, OR GENTLE.—FINAL DIVISION OF THE DOMINIONS OF CHARLEMAGNE BETWEEN HIS GRANDSONS LOTHAIRE, LEWIS THE GERMAN, AND CHARLES THE BALD.

THE new monarch was soon summoned to defend by arms the dignity he had acquired; the revolt of the Saxons claimed the presence of Pepin; and at the head of a royal army he chastised the levity of that turbulent people, and augmented their tribute. During this expedition he was delivered from the active enmity of an implacable relation: The restless temper of Grippon ever stimulated him to new A. D. 753. enterprises; he determined to escape from the court of Aquitain, and to throw himself on the protection of Astolphus, the king of the Lombards;

bards; but he was slain, as he boldly attacked, with a handful of troops, a fortified pass on the confines of Italy. The submission of the Saxons was soon followed by that of the Bretons; Narbonne was recovered from the infidels; and the injuries and presence of pope Stephen the Third determined the devout conqueror to pass the Alps in support of the successor of St. Peter.

The kingdom of the Lombards, which from the royal residence at Pavia extended to the gates of the ancient capital, oppressed the waning strength and feeble age of Rome; Aistolphus, the sovereign of the hostile nation, had possessed himself of Ravenna, and extinguished in Italy the nominal authority of the emperor of the east; Rome was menaced by the victorious Lombard, and the life of each citizen was fixed at the annual tribute of a piece of gold. The Roman pontiff had in vain endeavoured to deprecate the injustice of his enemy; with fearful speed he traversed the Penine Alps, and implored the protection of the monarch of the Franks: He was lodged in the Abbey of St. Denys, and, during a dangerous sickness, attended by the king in person. On his recovery, Stephen solemnly placed the diadem on the head of his benefactor, bestowed the regal unction on his sons Charles and Carloman, and conferred on the three princes the title of Patrician of Rome.

As the friend of the Roman pontiff, as the father of the ancient capital of the world, the grateful Pepin, at the head of a zealous and martial people, conducted in triumph his late suppliant into Italy. A. D. 754. Astolphus, besieged in Pavia by the devout Franks, renounced all pretensions to the sovereignty of Rome, restored the city and exarchate of Ravenna, and pledged his oath scrupulously to observe the conditions of the treaty. Ravenna was by the hasty generosity of Pepin transferred to the holy see; and the king of the Franks, exulting in the success of his expedition, repassed the Alps in triumph.

The satisfaction of Pepin was but of short duration; the retreat of the Franks dissipated the fears of Astolphus; he refused to fulfil the conditions which had been extorted from him, and already pressed with menaces and arms the independence of Rome. An eloquent epistle, in the name and person of St. Peter himself, rekindled the zeal of the French monarch; the son of Martel resumed his armour, and the rapidity of his march was only to be equalled by that of his success. The distress of Stephen was relieved, the perfidy of Astolphus was chastised, by the appearance of the hero; the Lombard was a second time compelled to sue for peace; and to the former terms was added the stipulation of an annual tribute. The death of Astolphus soon after constrained the bar-

A. D. 756. barians to a transient state of reluctant tranquillity; and their general Didier having seized the sceptre, as a title to his usurpation, solicited and obtained the sanction of the Roman pontiff.

The repose of Pepin was disturbed by a general revolt of the impatient Saxons; but their endeavours to break, served only to rivet, their chains; and their pardon was purchased by a renewal of their tribute, and an annual supply of three hundred horse. Vaifar, duke of

A. D. 758, 763. Aquitain, who had long regarded the growing power of Pepin with a jealous eye, seized the moment of commotion, entered Burgundy, and ravaged the open country as far as Chalons. But the king of the Franks was not to be insulted with impunity; rapidly returning from Germany, he passed the Loire, levelled the castle of Auvergne, and extended his devastations as far as Limoges; Aquitain would probably have been reduced into the form of a province of the French empire, had not the designs of Pepin been interrupted by the secret and hostile preparations of his nephew Tassilon, duke of Bavaria.

The boundless lust of power which has marked the potentates of a more polished period, is invariably to be traced through the sanguinary annals of a barbarous age:

The ambition of princes has seldom been re-

strained by the ties of consanguinity, or the impulse of gratitude; and the moment that Tassilon beheld with envy the rising fortune of his uncle, he ceased to remember that Pepin had formerly delivered him from the usurpation of Grippon. From the court of France he retired into his own dominions, renounced his homage to the French king, and prepared to assert by arms his claim of independence.

The prudence of Pepin was satisfied with securing his frontier by a chain of posts, against the rash incursions of the Bavarian; and having provided for the internal peace of his own kingdom, he once more appeared in arms on the banks of the Loire, determined vigorously to prosecute the war in Aquitain: That river proved but a feeble barrier; and Vaifar, who at first had endeavoured to impede his progress by laying waste part of the country, embraced the more generous resolution of defending his dominions in a field of battle. A total defeat reduced him to sue in vain for peace; the duke of Bavaria, intimidated by the misfortunes of his ally, sought a reconciliation, and by his ready submission disarmed the resentment of the victor, who advanced with diligence towards the banks of the Garonne. Distress dissolved the allegiance of the subjects of Vaifar; and that unhappy prince, conscious of his impending ruin, retired with a faithful band of

followers into the country of Xaintonge, and defending himself with indignant valour, with a sigh of despair yielded up his crown and life.

The duchy of Aquitain was, by the arms and fortune of Pepin, re-annexed to the dominions of France; and the victorious monarch had scarce time to indulge the pleasing vision of future conquests, when he was reminded of the instability of human power by the symptoms of his approaching end. He was seized with a slow fever at Xaintes, was conveyed with difficulty to St. Denys, and expired there of a complication of disorders,

A. D. 768. in the seventeenth year of his reign and the fifty-fourth year of his age. The diminutive form of Pepin concealed the mind and spirit of a hero; and his genius was equally displayed in action and in council; under his auspices, France attained that strength which enabled his son to pursue his triumphant career of greatness; but a lively people were intoxicated with the glory of the succeeding reign; and the humble epitaph inscribed on the tomb of Pepin, "Here lies the father of Charlemagne," is an imputation on the discernment of posterity.

The dying words of Pepin bequeathed his dominions to his sons Charles and Carloman, who ruled with equal and undivided authority the empire of France: The bosom of the former was filled with the love of action and of glory; but the

the feeble capacity of the latter regarded with envy the superior fame of his brother; and his early death fortunately averted the dangers which menaced the infant grandeur of France from his hostile jealousy.

The first doomed to feel the nervous arm of Charles was Hunalde, the old duke of Aquitain, who bursting from a monastic retirement of above twenty years, assumed the garb of royalty, and was received by the returning affections of his subjects: The most important cities freely opened their gates to their long-lost sovereign; and a conquest which had been laboriously atchieved in successive years, was threatened to be overwhelmed in a revolution of a few weeks. Charles was sensible how much his own reputation was concerned, to oppose the torrent; his entreaties persuaded the reluctant Carloman to take the field; but the forces of the royal confederates were scarce joined before the fickle prince changed his sentiments, withdrew with the troops more immediately attached to his standard, and left his brother to support alone the weight of the war. The commanding genius of Charles supplied the deficiency of his numbers; the duke of Aquitain, defeated in a decisive battle, A. D. 769. escaped with difficulty to the territories of Lupus duke of Gascony, who surrendered him to the formidable embassy of Charles; and the captive

tive Hunalde was dismissed to a prison, from whence he escaped, to embark in new adventures and to endure new calamities.

A marriage which Charles had concluded with the daughter of Didier, the king of the Lombards, was dissolved by the influence of the pope, who reproached that people with the first stain of leprosy; and in his holy invective, seems not unmindful of the sufferings which their sword had inflicted on the successors of St. Peter. The death of Carloman, who was surprised by a mortal disease in the moment that he meditated a public rupture with his brother, had rendered Charles sole master of the empire of the Franks; and the revolt of the Saxons engaged him in a war which, with some short intervals, exercised his persevering valour during thirty-three years. From the Rhine and beyond the Elbe, the martial inhabitants of the north of Germany were still inimical to the government and religion of the Franks; they rejected with contempt the servile obligation of tribute, and in successive engagements displayed a ferocious courage which could only be repulsed by the veteran intrepidity of the troops of Charles: A repetition of defeats humbled their haughty spirit. The disturbances in Italy required the presence of the king of the Franks; and the barbarians were content to offer, and Charles to accept, the language

language of submission, which deceived neither party, and enabled both to wait a more favourable opportunity of executing their hostile or ambitious designs.

The Lombards, forgetful of the double chastisement which they had received from Pepin, continued to harass the Romans with a repetition of vexatious claims and desultory inroads. The apostolic see was protected by the zeal and prudence of pope Adrian the first, and the valour and greatness of the king of the Franks. At the entreaties of the former, the latter prepared to pass the Alps; he skilfully evaded the fortified posts of those mountains; his presence dispersed the army of the Lombards; and while
A. D. 772, 773.
Didier with the old duke of Aquitain, who had escaped from prison, took shelter in Pavia, his son Adalgise with the widow and children of Charlotman, sought immediate safety in Verona. Both cities were besieged at the same moment by the impatient activity of Charles; Verona was soon compelled to surrender: Adalgise escaped to Constantinople; but the widow and sons of Charlotman are from that period lost in oblivion. The victor, after a short visit to Rome, and confirming and enlarging his father's donation to the successors of St. Peter, returned to press the siege of Pavia; the arms of the Franks were seconded by an internal enemy, and the ravages of the plague determined

determined the inhabitants to implore the clemency of Charles: The old duke of Aquitain fell a sacrifice to his constancy in opposing the tumultuous clamours of the people; the gates were thrown open; the kingdom of the Lombards was finally extinguished; but the fate of their unhappy monarch Didier has eluded the researches of the historian.

In Milan, the victor was crowned king of Lombardy; and after receiving the oaths of allegiance from the nobility, he hastened to repass the Alps, and restrain the destructive incursions of the Saxons, who had already re-assumed their arms, and recovered Eresbourg, near the Weser, which they had lost in the former campaign: That city, on the appearance of Charles, was again compelled to change its master; but a considerable detachment of the Franks, appointed to guard the passage, and separated from their companions by the broad stream of the river, was in the moment of heedless confidence overwhelmed by the crafty barbarians. This check, with new disturbances in Italy, induced Charles to receive, with hostages from the different tribes, the doubtful professions of the Saxons; and after strengthening the fortifications of Eresbourg, he pointed his march with unwearied diligence towards the west.

The clouds which darkened Italy, and which had been swelled by the intrigues of the emperor

peror of the east and the fugitive Adalgise, were dispelled by the presence of the monarch; but the storm still shook the north with unabated violence, and the boasted works of Eresbourg were swept away by the fury of the tempest.

The rapid return of Charles surprised the Saxons in the siege of Sigebourg, A. D. 776, 777. and his unexpected appearance once more renewed their professions of loyalty. The fortifications of Eresbourg were restored; new forts were constructed along the Lippe; an assembly of the barbarian chiefs was held at Paderborn, in Westphalia; and Charles having received their homage, prepared, at the solicitation of Ibinala, lord of Saragossa, to march into Spain, and to restore the suppliant Emir.

The authority of the exiled Arabian was re-established by the arm of the christian monarch, who reduced Pampeluna, traversed the Ebro, and successfully invested the city of Saragossa. The rebellious followers of Christ and Mahomet were impartially oppressed by the defender of insulted sovereignty; and the march of Spain, which the victor instituted, A. D. 778. extended from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro. Barcelona was the residence of a French governor; he obtained the counties of Roussillon and Catalonia; and the kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon were subject to his jurisdiction: But in his return, his rear-

rear-guard was defeated in the Pyrenean mountains; and this action, which has been so much celebrated in romance for the death of the famous Roland, seems to impeach the military skill and prudence of Charles.

The ensuing year was dedicated by the indefatigable monarch to again suppressing
A.D. 779. the commotions of the Saxons, and to framing that system of laws which has even commanded a degree of reverence in this more enlightened age. With his queen and his two younger sons, Carloman and Lewis, he re-passed the Alps; reposed during the winter at Pavia; and on the approach of spring, entered Rome amidst the triumphant acclamations of the inhabitants. In that Imperial city, and in the presence of the Roman pontiff, on Easter-day, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, he divided his dominions: He conferred on Carloman, who then changed his name to Pepin, the kingdom of Lombardy; and on Lewis he bestowed that of Aquitaine: The latter he conducted in person to Orleans. But while he congratulated himself on the submission of Tassilon, duke of Bavaria, and vainly imagined, that by the division of the empire he had secured the tranquillity of his reign, the pleasing vision was dissipated by the restless temper of the Saxons; and the persevering valour of Charles was
severely

severely exercised in the bloody labours of three German campaigns.

The latent spark of independence still glowed within the martial bosoms of the barbarians: The rising flame was fanned by the breath of Witikind, a Saxon chief, who had twice retired from the victorious arms of Charles to the friendly court of the king of Denmark. His return inflamed the indignant spirit of his countrymen; his counsels guided, his courage animated them; the dissensions of the royal generals ensured their defeat: The scanty and desponding remnant of the Franks beheld before, a host of enraged barbarians; behind, the rapid stream of the

A. D. 781.

Weser. Their deliverance was achieved by the incredible diligence of Charles; the Saxons were again dispersed; and the implacable monarch burning for revenge, penetrated into the heart of their country. Witikind had again eluded the royal resentment, but his confederates were the victims of offended majesty; four thousand five hundred of the champions of freedom purpled with their blood the polluted waters of the Weser; and Charles, by the unprecedented execution, relinquished his claim to humanity without attaining the submission of Saxony.

The emotions of rage were for a moment suspended by those of fear; but they soon burst forth with accumulated violence;

A. D.

783, 785.

and

and the ineffectual victories of three successive years induced Charles, fatigued with the unavailing carnage, to attempt that by policy which he had fruitlessly endeavoured to achieve by force. He persuaded Witikind and some of the most powerful chiefs to an interview; he urged to them the impending ruin of their country; and prevailed on them, by the powerful arguments of interest and flattery, to embrace the christian faith, and to dispose the minds of their countrymen to a faithful and permanent submission.

The revolt of the Saxons had been supported by the friendly assurances of Tassilon, duke of Bavaria. The king of the Franks, at the head of a formidable army, was determined
A. D. 787. to chastise a faithless kinsman, whom no treaties could bind. The destruction of Tassilon appeared inevitable; and Charles had already penetrated to the banks of the Lech, when the duke privately entered the camp, and threw himself at his feet. The abject posture of the Prince excited the compassion of the monarch, and he was dismissed to swell the account of his ingratitude and treachery. His hostile negotiations were extended to the barbarian Huns, the emperor of the Greeks, and the fugitive Adalgise; his intrigues fomented the discontents of the factious nobles of Aquitain and Lombardy; but his subjects dreaded in his rash designs their own destruction; they revealed
the

the secret of his perfidy to Charles; and Tassilon, as he fearlessly entered the diet of Ingelheim, was arrested by the command of the French monarch: The evidence of his guilt was incontestible; he was condemned, with his two sons, to lose his head; the punishment was commuted into monastic confinement; and the principality of Bavaria was annexed to the dominions of Charles. A. D. 788.

The fate of Tassilon could not deter his confederates the Huns, and the emperor of the east; but their enterprises only served to augment the glory of Charles, and his commanding genius triumphed over the barbarians in the fields of Bavaria, and over the Greeks in the plains of Italy: The latter renounced for ever the fortunes of Adalgise, and the vain hope of restoring the kingdom of the Lombards; but the former still continued their desultory incursions, and provoked Charles to retaliate the calamities they had inflicted on Bavaria. At the head of a formidable army, he entered the country of the Huns, forced their entrenchments in an obstinate engagement, and penetrated as far as Raal, on the Danube; an epidemic disorder, with the approach of winter, compelled him to retire; and his transient exultation was soon interrupted by a calamity of a domestic nature. His eldest son Pepin, impatient to taste the joys of empire, A. D. 788, 791.

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empire, and envious of the establishment of his younger brothers, conspired against the life of his father; the unnatural project was revealed by a priest, who had accidentally fallen asleep in the church where the conspirators assembled; he was awaked by a number of voices, and found the associates deliberating on their last measures. Charles was summoned from his bed to learn the guilt of his son; the feelings of a father checked the hand of justice, and doomed Pepin to expiate his crime by a life of religious penitence.

The restless spirit of the Huns was again in arms; the impatient Saxons once more threw off the yoke; the Moors deluged with their numbers the dominions of Charles in Spain; and while that monarch flattered himself with the vain hope of tranquillity, his conquests were shaken, and his kingdom assailed on every side. Instead of endeavouring instantly to repel the attacks of his enemies, with a well-appointed army, the king of the Franks waited to seize the favourable moment; the Moors were soon recalled by the victories of Alonso the Chaste, king of Leon; and Charles marched in person to chastise the Saxons, and humble the Huns.

The former consented again to receive the christian religion, and to deliver one third of their army to the service of the victor; the latter defended their freedom and country with

with incredible obstinacy. Although often defeated, their love of independence was invincible; and the war was only concluded by the death of the prince, and the almost annihilation of the people. One tribe alone was induced to submit to the rites of baptism, and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of the Franks.

The dissensions of the Moorish chiefs invited Charles to the conquest of the islands of Majorca and Minorca; but the satisfaction attending this expedition was more than balanced by the tumults which reigned at Rome. After the death of Adrian, his nephew aspired to the apostolic chair; but Leo the Third, a priest of the Lateran, was preferred by the voice of the electors. For four years, the disappointed candidate nourished the secret desire of revenge; and, on the day of a procession, a furious band of conspirators assailed the sacred person of the pope. Leo was left for dead on the ground; his revival from his swoon, with the natural recovery of his speech and sight, were improved to the miraculous restoration of his eyes and tongue, of which it was asserted he had been deprived by the knife of the assassins. From the prison he escaped to the vatican, and was protected by the duke of Spoleto, then general of the French forces. Charles sympathized in his distress, and invited the Roman pontiff to his camp of Paderborn, in Westphalia; with a numerous

escort he dispatched the holy sufferer to Rome, and declared his intention soon to visit the sacred city, and to redress the grievances of the successor of St. Peter.

The desultory descents of the Normans already afflicted the dominions of Charles which bordered on the sea : These daring adventurers, descending from the snowy mountains of Norway, explored every shore that promised spoil, or settlement. Their naval achievements commanded the presence of the king himself; and the French monarch restrained his impatience to avenge the injuries of his holy ally, till he had en-

A. D. 779.

deavoured to provide for the security of his own subjects, and to restrain the depredations of the northern pirates, by constructing forts at the mouths of the most navigable rivers. To this mode of defence he added a regular militia, and appointed squadrons, at proper stations, to cruise against the invaders.

After having diligently traversed the boundary of his territories, the zealous monarch prepared to pass the Alps, on his fourth and last pilgrimage to Rome. The conqueror of the Saxons was re-

A. D. 800.

ceived in the eternal city with the due honours of King and Patrician. Leo was permitted to clear himself, by oath, of the crimes which had been imputed to him; and the sacrilegious attempt against his life was punished by

by the exile of his enemies. It was on the festival of Christmas that Charles appeared in the church of St. Peter; and after he had devoutly assisted at mass, the pope suddenly placed a precious crown on his head, and the dome resounded with the acclamations, "Long life to Charles the August, crowned by the hand of God! Long life and victory to the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans." The pope immediately consecrated his head and body by the royal unction, and conducting him to a throne, paid him those marks of respect which had been only claimed by the ancient Cæsars. In his familiar conversation with his secretary and son-in-law Eginhard, Charles, who henceforth indissolubly blended in the name of *Charlemagne* the appellation of *magnus*, *great*, protested his ignorance of the intentions of Leo; and declared, had he known them, he would have disappointed them by his absence on that memorable day. But the preparations of the ceremony must have disclosed the secret; and though the son of Pepin affected to despise a title which was accompanied by no real advantages, yet, in his correspondence with the emperors of the East, he exacted, with a scrupulous jealousy, their acquiescence in the dignity which he derived from the gratitude of the successor of St. Peter.

Among the ambassadors who adored the greatness, and congratulated the fortune of the em-

peror of the Romans, those of the caliph Harun-Al-Rashid gratified the piety of the christian monarch, by the cession of the holy sepulchre, and the sacred city of Jerusalem: A more important negociation was entrusted to the ministers of Irene, the empress of the east; and the artful Princess, odious to her own subjects by the murder of her son, endeavoured to secure the protection of Charlemagne, who was then a widower, by a proposal of marriage. The king of the Franks readily entertained the idea; two ambassadors were dispatched to the Byzantine court; and if Charlemagne was sincere in this treaty, he must have been disappointed by the nuptials of Irene with Nicéphorus: The new emperor of the east consented to acknowledge in his unsuccessful rival the dignity of Augustus, and to settle the mutual boundaries of the two empires.

The Normans, whose adventurous spirit was destined to shake the empire of Charlemagne, under their leader Godfrey, menaced with their fleets and armies the tranquillity of the west. A transient peace was established, from motives of mutual convenience; the subjects of Charlemagne were to respect the Norman territory; and Godfrey promised, in his piratical descents, to refrain from the dominions of the Franks.

A life of continual action must have impaired the most vigorous constitution; and his excessive attachment to female charms, contributed to hasten the decay of Charlemagne's; while a momentary calm allowed him a suspension from the labours of the field, at an assembly held at Thionville, he settled the final distribution of his dominions. Aquitaine and Gascony, with the Spanish March, he assigned to his son Lewis; his possessions in Italy he confirmed to Pepin, and added to them the best part of Bavaria, with the country at present inhabited by the Grisons. To Charles, his eldest, he reserved the more powerful kingdoms of Neustria, Austrasia, and Thuringia; and after publicly subscribing the royal donation, he rendered it, in a superstitious age, more authentic by the sanction of the Roman pontiff. A. D. 806.

The different princes were, in the same year, summoned to defend their new dominions by the force of arms; in Aquitaine and Italy, Lewis and Pepin triumphed over the infidels, whom the former expelled from the island of Corsica, and the latter defeated in Catalonia. The revolted Slavonians, who had ravaged Bohemia, were crushed by the power of Charles; and the declining age of Charlemagne listened with paternal fondness to the martial achievements of his sons.

But the cares of the imperial master of the west were numerous and frequent; his happiness was rare and fleeting. The Normans already pressed upon his empire with accumulated force; and the terror of the Scandinavian name had extended from the Baltic to the British Channel: The infirmities of waning life were silenced by the imperious voice of ambition; and Charlemagne's vain menace, that he would settle his disputes with Godfrey on the Norman frontier, was retorted by the daring adventurer, that he would save him that trouble, by advancing with an army to the gates of Aix-la-Chapelle. The policy of Charlemagne delayed the threatened danger, by fomenting the discontents of the northern powers; but those disturbances were no sooner quelled, than the squadrons of the Scandinavian rovers, commanded by Godfrey in person, cast anchor on the coast of Friesland.

The undisciplined courage of the inhabitants, and the inexperienced bands of militia, were in vain opposed to the hardy invaders, trained to arms, and exulting in war. The French and Frisians were incapable of withstanding their rapacious fury; and Charlemagne, with what forces he could hastily collect, advanced to restore the confidence of the dismayed provinces. Whilst he anxiously awaited the signal of battle, he was agreeably surprised by the unexpected retreat of the

the enemy; and the dagger of a private assassin extinguished the life of Godfrey, and delivered the king of the Franks from his most formidable antagonist. The son of the Norman chief inherited not the martial disposition of his father; his first step was to solicit a sincere alliance with the emperor of the west; and Charlemagne was preserved from hazarding the glory which he had so-painfully acquired in a doubtful contest with the fierce warriors of Norway.

The satisfaction which Charlemagne indulged on this fortunate occurrence, was embittered by the death of his most favourite daughter Rotrude, and of Pepin, king of Italy: An infant and illegitimate son of that prince was by the disconsolate emperor appointed to succeed to the Italian sceptre; and the lapse of a few months again beheld the unhappy monarch weeping over the tomb of his eldest son, Charles. The increasing weight of public cares suggested to him the necessity of associating his surviving son Lewis to the Imperial purple: The ceremony was performed at Aix-la-Chapelle, and the aged emperor inculcated to his youthful colleague the maxims which had advanced, during his own reign, the happiness of his subjects. His augmented infirmities admonished Charlemagne to prepare for his impending end. About the middle of the month of January, which succeeded the association of Lewis, he was attacked by

by a fever, and conscious of his danger he beheld with firmness the approach of death. On the twenty-seventh, a fainting fit announced his speedy dissolution; and on the twenty-eighth, after uttering, in a low and faltering voice, these words, "Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my spirit," he immediately expired, in the seventy-first year of his age, and the forty-seventh year of his reign.

At the conclusion of the life of Charlemagne, it may be expected that some moments should be employed in delineating his character, the maxims of his government, and the extent of his conquests. In height, he exceeded the common race of men, and the accuracy of a French writer has fixed his stature at upwards of six feet; his robust form was endowed with a mind equally strong; and his patronage of literature is attested by the foundation of schools, the introduction of arts, and his familiar conversation with the learned whom he invited to his court. But though the encouragement of learning encircles with the purest lustre the memory of Charlemagne, yet it cannot be concealed that his own acquisitions were tardy and imperfect; and that, in the more mature period of his life, he strove with difficulty to acquire the practice of writing. Simple in his dress, temperate in his diet, he bore with patient firmness the vicissitudes of the seasons; and the fatigues of war were

were succeeded in peace by the manly exercises of the chase. Yet his moral virtues are stained with the charge of incontinence; and nine wives or concubines, with a train of licentious amours, proclaim the vigorous constitution of the king of the Franks; whose numerous illegitimate offspring sought refuge and support in the plentiful establishment of the church; and whose daughters too openly indulged those appetites which had sullied the fame of their father.

As a statesman, his prudence must be arraigned by the dangerous measure of dividing his kingdom among his sons; but his counsels to his colleague, Lewis, which exhort him to consider the people as his children; to be gentle in his administration, but firm in the execution, of justice; to reward merit; to promote his nobles gradually; to choose his ministers deliberately, but never to remove them capriciously; are maxims which cannot be too strongly recommended, or too readily adopted. Yet his own humanity is impeached by the silent extinction of the sons of Carloman; and even could he elude the doubtful fate of his nephews, the wanton massacre of four thousand five hundred Saxons, who were beheaded on the same spot, speak the unfeeling hero of a barbarous age. But although a mind inflated by prosperity might sometimes be insensible to the voice of pity, it was his assiduous aim to improve the laws and
manners

manners of the Franks; the inveterate evils of the times were mollified by his government, and his attempts, however imperfect, announce the spirit of the legislator.

The victories of Charlemagne restored to the monarchy of France the province of Aquitain; confined the Bretons to the shores of the ocean, and compelled them to acquiesce in the security of hostages and the disgrace of tribute. His authority embraced that part of Spain which extends from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro, and comprehends Roussillon and Catalonia, Navarre and Arragon. From the Alps to the borders of Calabria, Italy revered in the person of Charlemagne, the patrician of Rome, and the king of the Lombards; but the Duchy of Beneventum, which spread over the modern kingdom of Naples, eluded rather than resisted the power of the son of Pepin; and after a transient submission, escaped from the French yoke. To the sceptre of France, the emperor of the west united that of Germany; and the schools which he established in the barbarous regions on either side of the Weser, atoned, in some measure, for the cruelties he perpetrated in the pursuit of dominion. The Avars, or Huns of Pannonia, in vain opposed to his ambition their love of independence and hereditary valour: In eight successive campaigns their youth were slaughtered, their treasures rifled, and their strength

strength broken ; and the empire of the Franks stretched between east and west from the Ebro to the Elbe or Vistula ; and between the north and south from the duchy of Beneventum to the river Eyder, which still separates Denmark from Germany.

The union and stability of the western empire depended upon the life of the hero who had restored it, and the mighty mass was feebly inspired by the soul of his son and successor Lewis the *Gentle*. The administration of that prince in Aquitain, had been stamped by the approbation of his father, and his reputation might perhaps have stood higher with posterity, had he never been called from the regulation of a narrow principality to conduct the complicated machine of a great empire. Italy alone, of the dominions of Charlemagne, acknowledged in Bernard the son of Pepin a distinct master, who only confessed the superiority of Lewis his uncle by the form of homage ; but the rest of the inheritance and acquisitions of Charles were governed by the absolute will of Lewis.

At the time that Lewis, surnamed *Debonnaire*, *Gentle*, ascended the imperial throne of his father, he had attained the mature age of thirty-six years, and had espoused Ermangarde, the daughter of the count of Hesbai, of the diocese of Liege ; three sons, Lothaire, Pepin, and Lewis, were the fruits

fruits of these nuptials; the eldest was associated to the empire, the two younger were entrusted with the government of Bavaria and Aquitain; and each violated every tie of filial and fraternal duty. The partition of the empire was opposed by the arms and intrigues of Bernard king of Italy; his fruitless attempts proved fatal to himself; the stings of disappointed ambition hastened his premature death, which had already been decreed by the sentence of the emperor. The fierce nations of the North, scarcely to be controlled by the genius of Charlemagne, disdained the weak arm of his successor; the Bretons burst again from their narrow bounds, and were with difficulty repelled and confined within their proper circle: But the most disastrous events which distinguished the year, were the death of Ermangarde, and the marriage of Lewis with Judith, descended from the nobles of Bavaria and the dukes of Saxony; but whose splendid accomplishments concealed an ambitious mind, the source of equal calamities to her consort and the empire.

The meek piety of the master of the west had nourished the holy ambition of the successors of St. Peter; and Paschal the First, without deigning to solicit the consent of the emperor, seated himself in the apostolic chair. To Lothaire was assigned the important task of humbling the assuming pope;

pope; but the excuse of the artful priest was too readily accepted; the liberality of Lewis confirmed to the holy see the prodigal donation of his ancestors; and Lothaire condescended to receive his crown from the hands of A. D. 813.
the Roman pontiff.

It is unnecessary to disgust the reader with the weakness of a monarch, who was prevailed on by monkish influence to atone, by public penance, for the firmness with which he had guarded his sceptre from the invidious attempts of his nephew Bernard; and I hasten from his vain efforts to convert the unbelieving warriors of Denmark, to the birth of his son Charles, whose fa- A. D. 814.
tal pretensions shook the throne of his 810.
father, and involved the empire in the calamities of civil war. Already that empire was assailed by the fury of its foreign enemies; the Bretons once more resumed their arms, and violated their recent oaths of allegiance; a torrent of Moors deluged the face of Catalonia; the revolt of Navarre may be considered as the foundation of its future independence; and the ambitious designs of the empress Judith closed the gloomy prospect with the dark scene of fraternal discord.

The kingdom first intended for Charles was that part of Germany which is bounded by the Danube, the Maine, the Neckar and the Rhine, the country of the Grisons, and the district of Burgundy,

gundy, which comprehends Geneva and the Swiss Cantons; but the sons of the emperor rejected the injurious partition with contempt; Pepin and Lewis advanced with the forces of Aquitain and Bavaria; the royal troops deserted the imperial standard, and crowded to that of the malecontents; the emperor himself became a prisoner in the hands of his children; and on the arrival of Lothaire, to whose superior dignity the other brothers reluctantly submitted, the empress retired to a monastery, and exchanged her diadem for a veil. But the heart of Lothaire was not entirely callous to the impressions of filial affection; he dreaded the reproaches of the world, nor could he be indifferent to the menaced censures of the church; prostrate at his father's feet he implored the pardon of his guilt; and the diet which met to depose, was most eager to confirm the authority of the emperor.

Lewis was no sooner re-established on his throne than he recalled his empress from religious retirement; and the monastic vows of Judith were absolved by the fickle indulgence of Gregory the Fourth. The implacable enmity of an injured female was not to be conciliated by the tardy repentance of Lothaire; that prince was deposed from the rank of emperor, and reduced to the title of king of Italy; and the impolitic violence of his step-mother compelled him to

to seek his own safety in joining the hostile preparations of his brothers Pepin and Lewis.

The emperor was scarcely informed of the designs of his sons before he encreased the general discontent, and alienated still more the minds of his subjects by revoking his grant of Aquitain to Pepin, and transferring it A. D. 832. to Charles, then only nine years of age; while Gregory the Fourth restored to Lothaire the imperial dignity, and strengthened by his presence the arm of the son against his father. Again deserted by his people, the unhappy monarch was hastily deposed by an obsequious assembly of the dependants of the confederates; and Lothaire, by the same authority, was raised to the vacant throne. The empress was dismissed to a nunnery at Tortona, and Charles was strictly guarded in a castle in the forest of Arden. The victorious princes, after solemn professions of mutual attachment, separated, and each retired to his respective dominions; the pope to Rome, and Pepin and Lewis to Aquitain and Bavaria.

In the moment of triumph, Lothaire had embittered the degradation of his father by an ostentatious display of ceremony, and instead of the purple robe had assigned him the humble habit of a penitent. His submissive resignation to the insults of an unnatural son obliterated the A. D. 833. guilt of his consort; the misfortunes

of their lawful sovereign excited the pity of the multitude, ever discontented with the ruling powers; and the active diligence of his adherents soon opened the road for his restoration. Dreux, bishop of Mentz, awakened Lewis of Bavaria to a sense of his interest and duty; he armed in the cause of a sovereign and a parent; the nobility of France encouraged by their alacrity his hopes; the Saxons swelled the numbers and terror of his host; the aged emperor was restored to St. Denys; his son Charles was released from prison; and Lothaire, after a fruitless resistance, was compelled to deplore his crime, and throw himself on the mercy of his father.

Empire had no charms for the uxorious Lewis, unless it was shared with the partner of his bed; and Judith was once more recalled, and once more absolved; yet ever restless, and unbroken by adversity, she again resumed her intrigues for the establishment of her son, and engaged the fond partiality of her husband to add the kingdom of Neustria to the dominions before intended for him. In a solemn assembly, and in the presence of Lewis of Bavaria, Charles was declared king of Neustria, and the discontent of Lothaire and

A. D. 837.

Pepin died away in ineffectual murmurs; but the death of the latter was productive of a new partition; the claims of his children

Pepin

Pepin and Charles were disregarded; the son of Judith was invested with the kingdom of Aquitaine; and the French dominions of the deceased prince were divided between the brothers, Charles and Lothaire, the latter of whom was named as the guardian of his infant nephew.

Lewis of Bavaria, enraged at a division in which his interest was neglected, again unfurled the banner of revolt; but the unexpected appearance of the emperor, with the hostile preparations of the Saxons, compelled him to sue for pardon; yet the insatiate ambition of the empress, and the facility of her aged husband, kept alive the glowing embers of sedition. The commons of Aquitaine vented their discontent in secret meetings, and the nobles openly remonstrated against the injustice which was offered to the sons of their deceased sovereign. It was in vain that Lewis engaged to provide for his grandchildren; the adherents of the youthful Pepin steadily refused to deliver him up to the dangerous protection of an abandoned woman; the empire was menaced with the reiterated calamities of civil commotion; and the implacable rage of fraternal discord was suspended, rather than extinguished, by the death of Lewis le Debonnaire.

A.D. 841.

The placid virtues and graceful manners of the emperor but ill compensated for the miseries which

were engendered by his feeble administration; and a prince, to whose name has been added the epithet of gentle, lived without the regard, and expired without the regret, of his subjects. His advanced age, of seventy-two years, accounts for his decease, without assigning the unnatural conduct of his sons as the source of his immediate dissolution; but it is certain that he sunk into the grave with a lively resentment towards the king of Bavaria; and when reminded by the bishop of Mentz, that it was his duty, as a christian, to forgive, he replied, "I pardon him with all my heart; but tell him from me, that he ought to think of seriously obtaining pardon from God also, for bringing my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave."

The last reproof of a dying father was but little regarded by those sons, for whose ambitious views he had already reigned too long. The division of his dominions was disputed in a field of battle; and after two years of alternate fraud and force, the plains of Fontenoy attested the active hatred of the contending rivals. Lothaire, with his nephew Pepin, was forced to relinquish the bloody conflict, memorable for the slaughter
 A. D. 842. of one hundred thousand Franks; and the victors Lewis and Charles must have contemplated with horror, a carnage which justifies the historian's

torian's remark, that whole generations may be swept away by the madness of kings in the space of a single hour. Yet the advantages they obtained from the sanguinary triumph were far from decisive: Motives of caprice or interest induced each to retire within the circle of his respective dominions; and Lothaire having united his scattered forces, again pressed with his superior numbers his brother Charles, who was rescued from destruction only by the return of Lewis. The vicissitudes of three successive years of discord exhausted at length the strength, without impairing the animosity, of the kindred princes; and they consented to divide those dominions for which they were no longer able to contend. To Lothaire was allotted all Italy, with the sovereignty of Rome, and the tract of country within the rivers the Rhone and the Rhine, the Meuse and the Scheld. Charles obtained Aquitain, with the territory between the A. D. 844. Loire and the Meuse; and, with Bavaria, the rest of Germany was assigned to Lewis, who will hereafter be distinguished as Lewis the German.

Chapter the Third.

REIGNS OF CHARLES, SURNAMED THE BALD —
LEWIS THE STAMMERER — LEWIS AND CARLO-
MAN — CHARLES THE FAT — Eudes, SON OF
ROBERT THE STRONG — CHARLES THE SIMPLE
— RODOLPH, DUKE OF BURGUNDY — LEWIS
THE FOURTH, SURNAMED THE STRANGER —
AND LEWIS THE FIFTH, IN WHOM THE RACE
OF CHARLEMAGNE WAS EXTINGUISHED.

BY the late partition of the dominions of Char-
lemagne, the kingdoms of Germany and France
were for ever separated; and from this period it
is with disgust that the reader must turn from the
dark annals of the Carlovingian race, who through
the disgraceful series of one hundred and fifty
years reigned without virtue or power. The part
of Gaul which Lothaire retained, he distinguished
by his own name; and by the insensible corrup-
tion of time it has sunk into that of Lorrain,
which

which is still annexed to the district. But the empire which he had pursued at the expence of every filial duty, which he had established by the blood of his subjects, afforded him but a transient satisfaction: From the summit of grandeur, which he had attained, the prospect was dreary and comfortless; and amidst the cares of royalty he sighed for the tranquil station of religious privacy. Fifteen years after the decease of Lewis le Debonnaire, he assumed the habit of a monk; and a few days of monastic retirement

were only allowed to the prayers of the

A. D. 855.

royal penitent. On his retreat from the throne, he assigned to his eldest son, Lewis the Second, the realm of Italy, the proper patrimony of a Roman emperor; to Lothaire, his second son, the kingdom with the title of Lorrain; and to Charles, his youngest, Provence, Dauphiné, and part of the kingdom of Burgundy. The death of the two last princes united the greatest part of their dominions under Charles

A. D. 869.

the Bald, who may properly be considered as king of France; and to his history we hasten to return.

The kingdom of Charles had been afflicted by the annual depredations of the Normans; and the retreat of these northern rovers was purchased at an expence which

A. D.

845, 857.

might have supported a vigorous and successful war: The Bretons also had attempted to shake off the yoke which they indignantly bore, and twice had triumphed in asserting their independence. A third army, led by Charles in person, extorted a tardy and reluctant submission; but no sooner had the repeated incursions of the Normans recalled Charles, than Lewis, duke of Brittany, violated the recent treaty, subdued the neighbouring diocese of Rennes, assumed the royal title of king, and transmitted it to his son Herispee; who maintained it in a bloody field, which beheld the total defeat of Charles, and established the claims of the king of Brittany.

A factious people will ever be the consequence of a weak administration; and the subjects of Charles, insulted by their foreign enemies, and oppressed by their own sovereign, implored the protection of Lewis the German: The ambition of that prince readily listened to their distress; and while Charles was engaged in repelling an invasion of the Danes, Lewis with a formidable army marched into the heart of France; received the submission of the inhabitants, and was so-

A. D. 858, 859. lemnly crowned by the archbishop of Sens. But while he too readily listened to the delusive counsels of his courtiers, who represented his authority as established, and prevailed

ailed on him to dismiss his faithful Germans, his transient throne already tottered; his power was undermined; and the approach of Charles compelled him to abdicate a kingdom which he had occupied without a battle, and which he relinquished without a struggle.

The rapacity of the Normans had been invited by the former liberality of Charles the Bald; and during the internal dissensions of France they had seated themselves on the banks of the Seine and the Somme. Solomon, who had seized the throne of Brittany, extended his devastations to the gates of Poitiers; the interest and honour of Charles called aloud for revenge: At the head of a powerful army he entered the hostile coun-

A. D. 866.

try of the Bretons; but the superior number of his forces only aggravated his disgrace; and in a battle, which was maintained with persevering valour during two successive days, he was totally defeated. The victory was chiefly ascribed to the skill and courage of Robert le Fort, or Strong, who commanded the army of the Bretons; and the vanquished monarch, sensible of his merits, allured him to his service by the government and ducal title of the Duchy of France, which comprehended the country between the Seine and the Loire.

The policy of Charles divided the strength of
the

A. D. 860, 869. the Normans; and the sword of the pirates of the Somme was unsheathed against those of the Seine. The abilities of Robert contributed to prop the tottering throne of France; but that gallant chief unfortunately fell in the moment of victory, as he bravely repelled an invasion of the Danes; and his loss was scarcely compensated by the subsequent death of Lothaire, the king of Lorraine, which added to the crown of France the dioceses or cities of Lyons, Befançon, Vienne, Toul, Verdun, Cambray, Viviers, and Urez; together with Hainault, Zealand, and Holland. The remainder of the territories of Lothaire, Cologne, Utrecht, Strasburgh, Treves, Mentz, &c. was allotted to Lewis the German.

The incursions of the Normans still afflicted the kingdom of France; Solomon, king of Brittany, was persuaded to join his forces to those of Charles, and to concur in expelling the formidable invaders. The principal leaders of these daring adventures were besieged in Angiers; and after being reduced to the last extremity, submitted to purchase their retreat and ransom their ships, by surrendering the spoil they had acquired. Solomon himself enjoyed the important triumph over the pirates of Scandinavia but a short time; and his life was the victim of a conspiracy

conspiracy of his own subjects, whose happiness he had promoted in the council and the field. From the internal dissensions of Brittany, the eyes of Charles were turned to a more considerable object; and the death of Lewis the Second, emperor of the Romans, was scarce announced, before the French king, with a well-appointed army, appeared in Italy: His activity anticipated the designs of his brother Lewis, the German; he was received at Rome with the applause of the inhabitants; and the Roman pontiff placed the imperial crown on his head, and saluted him emperor of the Romans.

A. D. 874.

A. D. 875.

It was with indignation that Lewis beheld himself the dupe of his perfidious brother; he resented in arms the shameless breach of faith; entered Champagne, and discharged his fury on the defenceless country: Though he retired at the approach of Charles, he only suspended his hostile measures; his preparations were continued with incessant diligence; and the new emperor had reason to rejoice in the death of the king

A. D. 876.

of Germany, who united in his character the qualities of a statesman and a general, and who of all the descendants of Charlemagne, most resembled him. His dominions were divided between his three sons: To Carloman he assigned

signed Bavaria, Bohemia, Carinthia, Sclavonia, Austria, and part of Hungary; to Lewis, Franconia, Saxony, Thuringia, the lower Lorrain, together with Cologne and the cities of the Rhine; to Charles was left the country between the Maine and the Alps. The news of his brother's decease no sooner reached the emperor Charles, than his restless ambition prompted him to despoil his nephew Lewis; at the head of fifty thousand men he advanced to seize that part which formerly had belonged to Lorraine: In the neighbourhood of Cologne he was encountered by his nephew, with inferior numbers, with equal courage, and with superior skill; the army of the Franks was broken by the charge of the German cavalry, and Charles himself was glad to escape from the fatal carnage of his devoted subjects: He had scarce united his scattered forces before he was confounded with the intelligence that the Normans had entered the Seine, laid waste the adjacent country, and possessed themselves of the city of Rouen.

A rapid succession of mortifications overwhelmed the fortitude of Charles: The pangs of his mind were communicated to his body; and the ambition which could not be contained within the limits of an extensive empire was for some months confined to the narrow space of a bed. From this scene of repose, fainting beneath the effects
of

of disease, he was summoned by the importunities of the Roman pontiff, who claimed from the imperial purple the protection of Italy: That country was still exposed to the desultory attacks of the infidels; the continual A. D. 876. descents of the Saracens were encouraged by the intrigues of the duke of Beneventum, and the emperor of the Greeks; and the banners of Mahomet daily insulted the holy seat of the successors of St. Peter. The exhausted frame of Charles the Bald might well excuse him from new labours; and some praise must be granted to that vigour which could rouse him from the couch of sickness to resume the weight of armour. With a small train of followers he passed the Alps; but he had scarce entered Pavia, to which city the Roman Pontiff had advanced to confer with him, when he was informed that Carloman, the king of Bavaria, was already in Italy with a numerous army, and claimed by the will of his father the imperial title. The forces of Charles were still in France; the generals to whose fidelity he had entrusted them, conspired against him; and the soldiers, in tumultuary exclamations, declared their resolution not to pass the Alps: The indignant emperor, astonished and deserted, retired to France, at the same moment that his competitor, Carloman, alarmed at the rumour of his approach, had precipitately re-entered his German dominions.

The grandson of Charlemagne had escaped the sword of his open enemies, to perish by the practice of domestic treason: His retreat from Italy had been attended with a return of his indisposition; but the favourable symptoms of his disease were extinguished by the treachery of his physician. Sedecias, by birth a Jew, possessed and betrayed the confidence of the monarch; the deadly poison arrested the unfortunate prince in his passage over Mount Cenis; in a miserable village, and in a more miserable cottage, the emperor of the Romans breathed his last, in the fifty-fourth

A. D. 877. year of his age; thirty-eight years from his ascending the throne of France, and only two from his attaining the imperial dignity.

The ambition of Charles the Bald had continually disturbed the repose of his subjects with the sound of war; the feeble counsels of his son and successor Lewis, surnamed, from
A. D. 878. an imperfection in his speech, The Stammerer, exposed the kingdom to the fatal consequences of a weak and divided administration. To secure the attachment of the nobles, he profusely lavished the honours and estates of the crown; and the power of the sovereign was, during his improvident reign, reduced to an empty shadow. The discontented chiefs were strengthened by the influence of Richilde, the widow of the

the late emperor, and the step-mother of Lewis; who surrendered with reluctance the ensigns of royalty, entrusted to her by her husband, into the hands of the son of Hermantrude. The monarch received the crown and was anointed with the holy oil by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims; and the pope, John the Eighth, who had impatiently expected the aid of Charles to repress the insolence of the Saracens, endeavoured in vain to raise his son to the imperial dignity; his measures were successfully traversed by Lambert duke of Spoleto, and Adelbert, marquis of Tuscany: The former, resigning his own pretensions, supported those of Carloman of Bavaria; and the Roman pontiff, incapable of resisting the arms of the duke of Spoleto, abandoned Rome, and embarked for the friendly coast of France.

The reception of the successor of St. Peter was such as he might naturally expect from a monarch whose cause he had espoused with ardour. In a council assembled at Troyes, the Roman pontiff presided, and the authority and influence of the Church was not neglected by its holy Father: Among the various canons framed to support the episcopal dignity, it was ordained that all secular powers, under the penalty of excommunication, should observe the respect due to bishops; and all persons, however high their rank, were precluded from

from sitting down in their presence without obtaining their permission. But although the pope repeated, at the desire of Lewis, the ceremony of his coronation, and placed with his own hands the crown on his head, yet his fervour soon cooled towards a prince whom he discovered to be destitute of power and capacity; and his interests inclined him to seek a more effectual support in the friendship of the factious and independent nobles of his court. The thunders of the Vatican, which he brandished against the rebellious peers of France, were rather intended to deceive the sovereign than dismay the conspirators; and John, after having in vain exhorted the nation to respect the distress of Rome and to unsheath the sword against the presumptuous Saracens, proceeded on his return to Italy.

Bernard, marquis of Languedoc, had already erected the standard of revolt; and equally indifferent to the temporal menaces of the king and the spiritual censures of the church, maintained an haughty and sullen independence. As the monarch advanced at the head of a royal army, to chastise the disobedience and insolence of his subjects, he was seized at Troyes with a disorder which soon proclaimed his approaching dissolution: Sensible of his danger, he desired that his sword and crown might be delivered to his son
Lewis;

Lewis; and after a feeble reign of about eighteen months, he was preserved by death from beholding the impending calamities of his country. A. D. 877.

France, on the decease of her sovereign, was abandoned to a state of anarchy and confusion: Lewis and Carloman, the issue of his first marriage, were oppressed by a factious nobility; and Adelaide, his second wife, was pregnant of a son, soon after baptised by the name of Charles, and distinguished by the opprobrious epithet of *Simple*. Of the nobles who, as interest dictated or caprice suggested, propped or assailed the throne of their prince, the first place was due to the rank and connections of duke Boson: His spirit, naturally haughty, was inflated by his marriage with the daughter of Lewis the Second; his boundless ambition had already attained whatever a subject could possess, high rank, important governments, and a royal alliance: But these acquisitions served only to augment his avidity; and the crown itself appeared not too great for his merits, or too high for his pretensions. The surname of Hugo *the Abbot*, proclaims his early intention to have dedicated his services to the church; but, bold and aspiring, he soon embraced the more enterprising profession of arms, and relinquished the mitre and the cross for the helmet and the sword. To his

valour and abilities was entrusted the government of the country between the Seine and the Loire; and the rovers of the north found in Hugo an antagonist who left them little reason to exult in the death of Robert the Strong. Thierry had, in the reign of the late king, been promoted to the post of chamberlain; and the favours he had received ought inviolably to have attached him to the family of his benefactor. Bernard, count of Auvergne, had been appointed by Charles the Bald, with Boson and Hugo, to command the troops destined for the Italian expedition; and was, with those nobles, suspected of having conspired against the life of the king. Such were the four Chiefs to whose protection Lewis had bequeathed the inexperienced youth of his sons; and their influence was opposed by the policy of Abbé Goslin, who had been the principal minister of Charles the Bald, by the name of Conrad, count of Paris; and a long list of nobles averse to tranquil obedience and enamoured of sedition.

The designs of Goslin were veiled by an apparent concern for the prosperity of France, and an ardent zeal for the family of Charlemagne. Both of these were united in setting aside the children of Lewis the Stammerer, and inviting the mature age of Lewis of Germany to ascend the throne of

France:

France: that monarch readily listened to the flattering proposal, and while the guardians of the young princes, assembled at Meaux, disputed with each other the spoils of the crown, they were alarmed by the intelligence that a royal army of Germans was rapidly advancing to the frontiers of the kingdom. Abject despair succeeded to ill-grounded confidence; and a disgraceful acquiescence in the claims of the invader was only averted by the steady and prudent counsels of Hugo. The impending danger and distress sanctioned the sacrifice; and he consented to purchase the retreat of Lewis by the cession of that part of Lorraine which had been allotted to Charles the Bald. The offer was accepted; the king of Germany, with a considerable territory in the Low Countries, acquired Toul, Metz, and Verdun; and the abbé Goslin, with his associates, indulged their ineffectual resentment by reproaching the perfidy of their ally.

Carloman, the second of the sons of Lewis, had espoused the daughter of duke Boson; and that powerful noble prevailed on the assembly held at Meaux to disregard the last instructions of their deceased monarch, and associate with his elder brother Lewis, Carloman to the royal

power. The two princes were crown-
ed amidst the acclamations of the people, who

A. D.

879, 881.

had long demanded with impatience the authority of a sovereign: But the designs of Boson extended not alone to the elevation of his daughter; his ambition prompted him to aim at a solid establishment, and to secure his fortune beyond the frown of kings. In a long administration of the southern provinces of France he had redressed the grievances of the people, soothed the haughty spirit of the clergy, and attached to his interest a proud and factious nobility: His ready attentions had conciliated the favour of the pope, who wished to display his gratitude by contributing to the completion of his aspiring hopes. Three archbishops, twenty bishops, and a number of counts, assembled at Mante, deliberated on the melancholy state of their country: The expedient they proposed was to erect a new kingdom; and an instrument, subscribed by the assembly, offered Provence to the absolute rule of Boson. The proposal was graciously received and readily accepted; and the brows of Boson were at length encircled with a royal diadem. The countries which composed this new principality, and which, from the seat of government have been denominated Arles, were Provence, Lyonnois, Dauphiné, Savoy, Franche Compté, and part of the kingdom of Burgundy, extending on one side into Languedoc, and on the other beyond the Lake of Geneva.

neva. Thus the sons of Lewis beheld themselves with indignation despoiled of the fairest part of their inheritance by the sword of a powerful neighbour, and the intrigues of a faithless kinsman.

Their throne indeed was shaken on every side; and the very foundation would possibly have been subverted, had it not been protected by the fidelity and abilities of Hugo the abbot. The splendid promises of Goslin had prevailed on Lewis of Germany to violate the recent treaty, and again aspire to the crown of France: But the inclinations of the malecontents were overawed by the prudent dispositions of Hugo; the Germans in vain penetrated into the heart of France; and the hopes of Lewis were chilled by the languid operations of his partizans. He consented to an interview with his youthful rivals; and a subsequent congress at Gondreville on the Meuse, at which all the descendants of Charlemagne were present, ratified the succession of Lewis and Carloman, and confirmed the possession of Lorrain to the king of Germany.

The royal brothers, delivered from the terror of foreign invasion, prepared to chastise the insolence of domestic rebellion; strengthened by their new alliances, they marched with a numerous army through Burgundy, and entered the revolted territories of their presumptuous vassal. The con-

federate forces, assisted by those of Charles, king of Italy, formed the siege of Vienne, defended with masculine valour by Hermingard the consort of Boson. But the princes were soon compelled to separate; and while the continuance of the siege was devolved on Carloman, Charles returned to Rome to receive the imperial crown, and Lewis, with a considerable detachment, directed his march against the Normans.

These hardy adventurers, disdaining the severity of winter, had in the month of December surprised the city of Tournay, and spread their devastations along the banks of the Scheld. At Saucour in Picardy the rovers of the north were encountered by the maiden valour of Lewis; nine thousand Normans, with their leader Guaramond, expired on the field of battle; the remainder repassed the Somme, and consulted their safety by a hasty retreat: But the inactivity of the conqueror betrays his own loss; and the prudence of Lewis respected the despair of a valiant though vanquished enemy. The victory of Saucour had displayed the courage, and the death of Lewis of Germany proclaimed the moderation, of the youthful king of France; he rejected with firmness the crown proffered by the inhabitants of Lorrain, and yielded to the superior pretensions of the emperor, Charles the Fat. But the French
were

were suffered only a short time to contemplate the rising virtues of their prince. While, at the invitation of the duke of Brittany, he indulged in the hope of erecting fresh trophies over the indefatigable Normans, he had scarce advanced as far as Tours before disease compelled him to renounce the generous enterprise; he returned to expire at St. Denys in the twenty-second year of his age, and his premature death is strongly marked with the suspicion of poison; a suspicion countenanced by the turbulent temper of the nobles, jealous of an active and virtuous reign.

Carloman was still before Vienne when he received the unexpected intelligence of A. D. the death of his brother, and his own 882, 884. succession to the undivided crown of France. He left the blockade of that place to his principal officers; and at the head of the army assembled by the deceased prince, moved towards the Meuse to repel the robbers of the north: These retired at the approach of the monarch, but their return soon summoned him again to arms; and his double triumph over the rapacious invaders was more honourable to himself than serviceable to his country. His prospects of victory were blasted by the breath of pestilence and the intractable spirit of his own subjects; he was compelled to sheath the sword, and by a lavish donative to obtain a

short and precarious truce. The disappointment was but ill compensated by the capitulation of Vienne, which permitted Hermingard to retire to her consort at Autun; and while Carloman endeavoured to dissipate his chagrin by the exercises of the chase, an erring javelin, aimed at the boar by one of his attendants, pierced his thigh, and in a few days deprived him of his crown and life; yet his last moments interest us in his premature fate; and we drop a tear of pity over the pious deceit of a prince, who endeavoured to screen from the mistaken resentment of the public his unfortunate domestic, by imputing his wound to the rage of the animal he pursued.

The activity of Charles the Bald and his grandson Lewis had awakened the fatal jealousy of their aspiring nobles; and it was natural to suppose the principal lords would have readily concurred in placing the crown on the infant brows of Charles the Simple, the son of Lewis the Stammerer by his queen Adelaide: Yet Hugo, the abbot, in vain zealously espoused the cause of that young prince; and Charles, surnamed the Fat, the emperor of the Romans, was invited to ascend the throne of France,

A new invasion of Normans, perhaps, determined the French to vest the sceptre in the hands of a powerful branch of the Carlovingian race; and the dominions of
Charles

A. D.

884, 888.

Charles promised an effectual succour, while his limited capacity removed any apprehensions they might entertain from his increase of territory. Godfrey, king of the Normans, had been assassinated at a treacherous interview; and to avenge his death, a hostile fleet of seven hundred sail entered the Seine, and spread their devastations as far as Paris. But the capital was defended by the prudence of Gossin, its bishop, and the valour of Eudes, the son of Robert the Strong. In three attacks, the Normans were repulsed with obstinate courage and cruel slaughter; their rage was vented against the defenceless inhabitants of the adjacent country; and in a fourth and general assault they endeavoured to efface their shame: But their despair was ineffectual, and their defeat bloody; in the moment as they retired with a sigh of despondence, the gates were thrown open; a daring band sallied from the city, and spread terror and destruction through the ranks of the besiegers. The walls however of Paris were already shaken; to open violence succeeded secret stratagem, and the slow but more certain attacks of famine: A close blockade seemed to preclude all succour, when the fainting spirits of the Parisians were raised by the appearance of Charles, who, with an army collected from Germany, pressed forwards to the relief, and encamped within sight
of

of his capital. Yet Sigefroy, the Norman leader, beheld the hostile standards with an undaunted countenance, and stedfastly maintained his station before the gates of the city. The emperor was awed by the firmness of an enemy whom he might have overwhelmed; he basely consented to purchase a peace which he might have commanded; and he sacrificed to a moment of doubtful tranquillity the fame which he had acquired by his former conduct and courage: As his treasures were inadequate to the sum stipulated, part of Burgundy was abandoned to the avarice of the Normans; and the labours they had endured were repaid by the spoils, and drowned in the luscious wines, of the prostrate province.

The piety of Goslin could not support him under the accumulated pressure of fatigue of body and anxiety of mind, and he expired while yet the city was afflicted by the desolating rage of the Normans; Eudes, his companion in toil and glory, survived to receive the applause of his country and the reward of a grateful sovereign. The death of Hugo, the abbot, had deprived both Charles and his subjects of a faithful minister and a steady patriot; and his title of count of Paris was with general approbation bestowed upon Eudes, whose gallantry borrowed additional lustre from the ignominious conduct of the emperor.

The health and reputation of that prince rapidly declined; his faculties were visibly impaired; he had scarce returned into Germany before he displayed manifest symptoms of a distempered imagination; and in a diet which was held at Oppenheim he was declared by the nobles of France and Germany incapable of supporting the weight of royalty.

In Italy he had long possessed only the empty name of sovereign; and the Lombard princes of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua rejected his authority, and asserted their independence. The crown of Germany was conferred by the free voice of the nobles on Arnold, natural son of Carloman, king of Bavaria, and who had distinguished himself as an able and active general on the frontiers of Pannonia: The unhappy Charles was reduced to beg his bread from the successful rebel, by whose contempt his life and liberty were spared. So headlong was his fall from greatness, so diligent was the revolt of his subjects, that in three days he was left without a servant to administer to his infirmities! The compassion of the bishop of Mentz relieved his immediate necessities; and a scanty and tardy supply from the frigid pity of Arnold, enabled him to
14 Jan.
A.D. 888.
linger through a few months of disease and distress.

The

The most plausible and powerful pretenders to the vacant throne of France were Guy duke of Spoleto, and Berenger duke of Frioul, both equally descended from Charlemagne; Herbert, count of Vermandois, who claimed from Bernard king of Italy; Arnold, king of Germany; and Charles, surnamed The Simple, the posthumous son of Lewis the Stammerer by his second wife Adelaide: But his feeble years were incapable of wielding the sceptre of a tottering empire; and the exigencies of the state called aloud for the virtues of a soldier and a statesman. Eudes was encircled with recent laurels from the important defence of Paris; and the popular opinion named him for the sovereign of France. But the virtuous patriot refused to trample on the laws of succession, or to plunge his country in the calamities of civil war; he declared that he would hold the crown only as the faithful guardian of the infant Charles; and that the formidable competition of Arnold must be averted by the sanction of his free consent. The king of Germany was vanquished by the generous scruples of his rival; and the name of Eudes is inscribed among the monarchs of France.

The short reign of Eudes was diligently devoted to repress the insolence of the nobility, and to humble the foreign and domestic enemies of the state. At the head of one

thousand horse he dispersed an army of twenty thousand Normans; and the victory of Montfaucon might have been improved to decisive advantage, had not Eudes been recalled from the pursuit by the revolt of Aquitain. His presence restored the allegiance of that province; but the Normans had seized the favourable opportunity: Their banners were displayed on the walls of Meaux, Toul, and Verdun; and Paris itself was again insulted by the licentious arms of the northern rovers. Their destructive incursions into Lorraine were chastised by the arm of the king of Germany; but in France a scene of anarchy and discord presented itself on every side; the nobles of each province disobeyed their sovereign, oppressed their vassals, and exercised perpetual hostilities against their equals and neighbours.

The disorders of the times were the misfortune and the glory of Eudes; and his vigour was exerted to restrain the ambition of the chiefs, and re-establish the regal authority. Count Walgaire had availed himself of the general distraction, and seized the important city of Laon: The punishment of his presumption was instant and signal; before he could sufficiently fortify the object of his usurpation, he was surprised by the unexpected appearance of the French king. The rebellious garrison was compelled to surrender, and the
life

life of Walgaire atoned for his guilt. The factious chiefs beheld in the chastisement of that noble, their own fate. Aquitain once more erected the standard of revolt; the king of Germany encouraged the growing discontent; Herbert, count of Vermandois, and Philip count of Senlis, embraced the cause of the empress Adelaide and her youthful son. The feeble prince was conducted to Rheims, and crowned by Fougues, the archbishop of that city: The army of the confederates advanced to the gates of Paris, but the fears of the capital were dissipated by the approach of Eudes; the forces of Charles insensibly melted away before the presence of the hero; the king of Germany was reconciled by the sincerity of his declarations; and Eudes himself soon after extinguished the torch of discord by acknowledging the sovereignty of Charles the Simple, and only retaining, under an oath of homage and fidelity, the country from the Seine to the Pyrenees. Eudes survived to enjoy but a short time the tranquillity established by his own moderation; in the month of January subsequent to his abdication, he expired at La Fere in Picardy, in the fortieth year of his age; esteemed by the Normans whom he had vanquished, beloved by the people whom he had protected, and hated yet dreaded by the nobility, whose oppressions he had firmly opposed.

His

His infant son, Arnold, succeeded to his principality, with the title of king; but his death in a few days after united France under the sole authority of Charles the Simple.

But that extensive kingdom had mouldered away in the feeble hands of the Carlovingian race; Lorrain was solemnly ceded to the king of Germany; duke Rodolfe had ^{A. D. 892, 913.} in the reign of Charles the Fat, erected the district of Burgundy, beyond Mount Jura, into a kingdom, and stretched his sway over the greatest part of Franche Comté; Lewis, the son of Boson, maintained an haughty independence in Arles; and though Charles might nominally reign over the remnant of his dismembered dominions, yet his real power was controlled by the formidable pretensions of Herbert, count of Vermandois, and Robert, the brother of Eudes. The wise counsels of Fougues, the archbishop of Rheims, might have preserved the unfortunate monarch from the calamities which menaced him; but that prelate was assassinated by Baldwin, earl of Flanders; and the indifference with which Charles received the fate of a faithful servant, who first placed the crown on his head, lessened the zeal of his adherents and encouraged the daring designs of his enemies.

Rollo, whose noble descent and personal qualifications raised him above the crowd of northern adventurers,

adventurers, had entered the Seine and possessed himself of the city of Rouen. The distress of Charles, and the influence of Robert the brother of Eudes, who had cultivated the friendship of the Norman, first suggested the propriety of a treaty with Rollo: The kingdom of Neustria, with the county of Brittany, was offered to the gallant invader; and the conditions that he should become a christian, espouse the daughter of Charles, and do homage for his principality, were accepted by the Norman chief: He was purified in the waters of baptism; and received from the brother of Eudes, his friend and sponsor, the christian name of Robert. Though sixty winters might have impaired his vigour, he consented to divide his bed with a royal princess who scarcely had entered her fourteenth year; but in the ceremony of investiture, he rejected with disdain the servile indignity of prostrating himself before, and kissing the feet of his sovereign: After ineffectual efforts to subdue his inflexible spirit, one of his guards was accepted as his substitute; and the rude Norman, unpractised in the arts of courts, tossed the kingly foot with so much violence as nearly to overturn the chair, and to endanger the neck of Charles.

The principality of Robert assumed the title of the Duchy of Normandy; and the robbers of the north

north acquiesced in the language of peace and moderation, and were instructed by their duke to prefer the produce of a fruitful soil to the spoils of piratical adventure. Charles in the same year received some compensation for the dominions he had divested himself of by the death of Lewis the king of Germany. With that prince expired the male line of Charlemagne in Germany; and the vacant throne was, by the free voice of the nobility, filled with Conrad duke of Franconia; but Lorrain refused to acquiesce in the injurious election, and in Charles sought the protection, and acknowledged the authority, of the last prince of the Carlovingian race.

The subjects of the French monarch soon discovered, that the weakness of Charles, under the name of a favourite, required a master; and the obsequious arts of Haganon, a private gentleman, without birth and without fortune, gained the confidence of the king: The cares of empire were devolved on, and the hours of the prince were devoted to, this new minion of fortune; and it was observed by Henry, duke of Saxony, one of the ablest princes of the age, and whose request of an audience had been continually evaded by the answer, that the king was engaged with Haganon, " Either Haganon will seat himself on the same throne with Charles, or Charles will be-

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“ come a private gentleman like Haganon.” Yet the favourite, however unpopular, cannot be denied the praise of penetration and fidelity; but the times were adverse to the administration he had assumed; and the two Roberts, dukes of Normandy and France, overshadowed with united influence the power of the crown. Their formidable confederacy compelled the king to dismiss his minister; and their ambition, nourished by success, soon revealed the pretensions of Robert to a throne which had been occupied by his brother Eudes. The recall of Haganon was the signal of war; Robert was solemnly crowned at Rheims; and with the forces of the conspirators encamped under the walls of Soissons. While in ostentatious security he enjoyed the pleasures of the table, he was surprised by the appearance of Charles at the head of a few faithful followers: With undaunted courage he mounted his horse, and endeavoured to restore order to his troops; but in the tumult of the conflict he received a mortal wound from the
 25th June, spear of his rival, and was dispatched
 A. D. 923. by his surrounding enemies. Yet his son Hugo, and Herbert count of Vermandois, maintained the battle with more successful valour; and Charles, after having enjoyed the triumph of revenge, was in his turn compelled to retreat before superior numbers, with the loss of his baggage and the bravest of his companions.

The

The confederates proceeded immediately to elect a new king; the principal competitors were, Hugo, duke of France, and son of the deceased Robert; Herbert, count of Vermandois; and Rodolph, duke of Burgundy, who had espoused Emma the sister of Hugo. The last was by the influence of his wife, crowned at Soissons; and Charles, deserted by his subjects, endeavoured to arm in his support, by the offer of Lorrain, Henry, king of Germany: That monarch was not deaf to his own interest, and the intreaties of his royal suppliant; the inclinations of William, duke of Normandy, who had succeeded his father Rollo, leaned to the same side; and the danger of Rodolph was only averted by the treachery of Herbert, count of Vermandois. That nobleman, dreading the restoration of a monarch, whom he had injured too much to forgive, pretended to desert the cause of the new king, and offered, by his deputies, to erect once more the standard of loyalty. Charles, confiding in his promises, marched into the country of Vermandois, with the faithful few who still followed his broken fortunes; and was seized by the perfidious count, and imprisoned in the fortress of Chateau Thierri; his queen, Egiva, escaped with her son Lewis to the court of her brother Athelstan, king of England; and Rodolph, released

A. D. 923.
13th July.

from his apprehensions, turned his arms against William, duke of Aquitain.

That prince was compelled to purchase his pardon by a ready submission, and the servile condition of homage; but this gleam of prosperity was soon darkened by surrounding clouds of adversity. The rovers of the north renewed their depredations; the Normans of France broke forth into open hostilities; the fickle nobles of Lorraine shook off their allegiance, and claimed the protection of Henry, king of Germany; and the black swarm of Hungarians, emerging from the heart of Tartary, scourged the defenceless frontier with the hand of violence and rapine. The throne of Rodolph might have stood secure against the foreign enemies of the state; it was shaken to its foundation by a formidable conspiracy of domestic foes. His late associates became his most dangerous adversaries; Herbert, count of Vermandois, had claimed, as the reward of his perfidy, and was refused, the city of Laon; his discontent was communicated to Hugh, duke of France, who had lately married Ethelinda, the daughter of Edward, king of England, and the sister of Charles's consort: In conjunction with William, duke of Normandy, they determined to restore the captive Charles to the throne; and Henry, king of Germany, and pope John the ninth,

ninth, confirmed that prince's hopes by the promise of temporal and spiritual support.

The power of Rodolph seemed unable to withstand, yet his genius and policy dispersed, the rising storm; the death of the Roman pontiff delivered him from the menaces of the church; the zeal of Henry was disarmed by the arts of flattery; Herbert was gratified by the acquisition of Laon; and drew along with him Hugh, duke of France; Egiva, once more, by the advice of the duke of Normandy, retired to England; and Charles was surrendered by the count of Vermandois into the custody of Rodolph. He was received with respect, and the royal fetters were rendered less cumbersome by the liberality of the hand which imposed them; yet Charles survived not long this second revolution; in the fifty-
A. D. 929.
first year of his age, at the castle of Oët. 9th.
Peronne, he was released by death from a life of disappointment; and if his feeble character cannot command our esteem, the splendid misery to which he was invariably allotted, excites, at least, our compassion.

The remaining years of the reign of Rodolph present a glorious, but ineffectual struggle with the difficulties of his situation; his successful conflicts with, and the laurels which he acquired from, the Normans of the Loire, and the savage

Hungarians, could not restore the internal vigour of France, deeply wounded by the rage of civil commotion. The friendship of Herbert, count of Vermandois, and Hugo, duke of France, was soon converted into implacable hatred; the swords of their adherents were unsheathed in this private quarrel; and the latter, who was secretly supported by Rodolph, dispossessed the former of Eu, Amiens, Ham, Arras, and Rheims, and at length besieged him in the city of Laon. Yet Herbert, though unfortunate, had maintained amidst defeat the character of a great captain and consummate statesman; and jealousy of the growing power of Hugo induced the king to extend to the count of Vermandois the clemency he implored; the duke of France reluctantly restored the towns he had taken, and the homage of Herbert was accepted by Rodolph. That monarch was allowed to enjoy but a short time the tranquillity he had established; in the fourteenth year of his reign he
A. D. 936.
Jan. 15th. expired at Auxerre, and his death revived those pretensions which his courage and activity had crushed.

The duchy of Burgundy devolved on the brother of Rodolph, Hugo surnamed the *Black*; but the most powerful claimant to the French crown was Hugo, duke of France: His designs were traversed by his rival, Herbert, count of Vermandois; and
their

their contention allowed Athelstan, king of England, to plead the cause of his nephew, the son of Charles the Simple. The duke of France was readily persuaded by William of Normandy to stifle his ambitious hopes, and to concur in placing on the throne, a prince with whom by marriage he was so nearly connected. William, archbishop of Sens, was deputed to England to invite Lewis, surnamed *D'Outre-mer*, *beyond the Sea*, or *Stranger*; and the young prince, landing at Boulogne, proceeded to Laon, and was crowned in A. D. 936. that city by Artaud, archbishop of June 20th. Rheims.

The first measures of Lewis, who A. D. 936, 942. was but just entered into the seventeenth year of his age, promised to maintain the internal tranquillity of his kingdom: To discharge his obligations to Hugo, and to secure the fidelity of that powerful nobleman, he appointed him minister, and committed to his hands the reins of government. The duke of Burgundy had presumed on an infant reign, to violate the sanctity of the peace, and to seize the city of Langres; the insult was resented by the duke of France; at the head of a powerful army he penetrated into Burgundy, and compelled the brother of Rodolph to purchase an ignominious peace by the cession of great part of that fruitful duchy. So vigorous a

conduct inspired the French with the most pleasing expectations; but the flattering prospect was soon overcast, and the mind of the king appeared to be impressed with a deep and fatal suspicion of his minister. The duke of France perceived himself estranged from the confidence of his master, and retired from an ungrateful court to cultivate the returning friendship of the count of Vermandois: That nobleman surprised the city of Laon; and the king, sensible of his weakness, once more affected to commit himself to the counsels of Hugo, duke of France. Yet, amidst the marks of external regard, he only waited a favourable opportunity to break the chains of his powerful subject; he recalled his mother Egiva, and allured to his side, Hugo, duke of Burgundy, Artaud, archbishop of Rheims, and the count of Poitiers. The duke of France was supported by William, duke of Normandy, Arnold, count of Flanders, and Herbert, count of Vermandois. Rheims surrendered, Laon was invested by the army of the confederates; and Charles, having sustained a decisive defeat, in the vain hope of relieving that city, consented to a peace, which was negociated under the holy mediation of pope Stephen the eighth.

A. D. 942. 945. The death of William, duke of Normandy, who was assassinated at the instigation

stigation of the count of Flanders, and of Herbert, count of Vermandois, changed the appearance of public affairs; the son of Herbert was protected by the honourable friendship of Hugo; but Richard, the successor of William, was an infant, whose feeble age and extensive dominions promised an easy and wealthy conquest. The neutrality of the duke of France was purchased by the cession of part of Burgundy; and Lewis entering into Normandy, was received at Rouen with every mark of respect by Bernard the Dane, to whose protection the deceased duke had bequeathed the tender years of his son. The Normans were prevailed upon, by the friendly protestations of Lewis, to resign their young duke to his care; he was conveyed to Laon, and the dark design of murder has been imputed to the faithless guardian; but Richard was preserved from this danger by the vigilance of his governor, Osman, who, in the disguise of a groom, escaped with his pupil concealed in a truss of hay, and mounting him on a fleet horse, conveyed him in safety to the friendly castle of Bernard, count of Senlis.

On the flight of Richard, Lewis entered Normandy, and advanced to Rouen with a powerful army, while the duke of France penetrated into the country of Bayeaux; but the king was deceived by the submissive declarations of Bernard the

the Dane, and the count of Senlis; he commanded Hugo to retire, who reluctantly obeyed the royal mandate; and, in concert with Bernard, advanced to encounter Aigrol, king of Denmark, who had landed in Normandy to support the claims of the infant duke. The pious fraud of Bernard secured the defeat of the French; and while Lewis was engaged in a friendly conference with Aigrol, his army was suddenly assaulted by the Danes; the Franks were surprised and broken on every side; the count of Ponthieu, with eighteen other nobles, perished on the field; and the king himself, overtaken in the pursuit, was carried prisoner to Rouen.

The person of the captive monarch was granted
A. D. to the weighty solicitations of Hugo;
944, 954. but Lewis soon discovered that the fetters of his subject were equally oppressive with those of the Normans; and the price of his freedom, after a twelvemonth's confinement, was the city and diocese of Laon. These were granted by Hugo to the count of Chartres; and the marriage of Emma, the daughter of the duke of France, with Richard of Normandy, awakened the jealousy of the nobles, and the apprehensions of Otho, king of Germany. A formidable conspiracy enabled Lewis to avow his resentment against his powerful vassal, and the provinces of France were alternately

nately afflicted by the arms of Lewis and of Otho, of Hugo and of Richard. During five years the flames of civil war raged without intermission; and the precarious peace which was concluded in a personal interview, may rather be considered as a suspension of hostilities than a restoration of tranquillity. The latent embers of discord were still kept alive, and they again broke out with fresh violence; they were finally extinguished by the mediation of the two sisters, the daughters of Henry of Germany, and the consort of the king, and duke of France. A permanent peace was established; and Lewis prepared to assert his authority over the revolted lords of Aquitain, when his designs were broken by a sudden and accidental death: As he pursued a flying wolf with inconsiderate ardour, his horse stumbled and threw him; the injury proved fatal; and in a few days, in the thirty-third year of his age, he closed at Rheims a stormy and unsuccessful reign of nineteen years.

A. D. 954.
Oct. 15th.

The life of Hugo had been spent in an incessant struggle to elevate himself above the condition of a subject; the path of greatness now lay open to his ambitious steps, yet he declined the easy ascent, and raised to the throne Lothaire, the son of Lewis, then only in the fourteenth year of his age. The young prince

A. D.
954, 955.

was

was crowned at Rheims, and the hasty gift of Aquitaine proclaimed his gratitude to Hugo: That province had long bestowed the title of duke on the counts of Poitiers; and William the second of that family, resented the justice which transferred his hereditary honours to the duke of France: He refused to acquiesce in the partial distribution; and the lords of Aquitaine, impatient and discontented, crowded to the independent standard of William. With a considerable army, sanctioned by the name and presence of Lothaire, Hugo formed and pressed the siege of Poitiers; but his mind, incapable of personal fear, was susceptible of superstitious terror; a clap of thunder broke with violence over his tent, and Hugo raised the siege. In his retreat he was attacked by William, with his new raised forces; the action was short and decisive; the count was totally defeated, and escaped with difficulty from the sword of the victor.

The sun of prosperity had invariably gilded the career of Hugo; and his last triumph
A. D. 956, 980. over the count of Poitiers closed a series of memorable actions: The year following, this celebrated chief, the son and father of a king, and who, without a crown himself, had ruled France with despotic power, sunk into the grave, esteemed by his countrymen, and, perhaps, least
of

of all, regretted by his sovereign. To his eldest son, Hugh, surnamed Capet, he assigned the cities and dioceses of Paris and Orleans, and recommended him to the protection of Richard, duke of Normandy; and the three younger, Otho, Eudes, and Henry, succeeded each other in the duchy of Burgundy.

The ambition of Lothaire had invaded the duchy of Normandy; and the duke, A. D. 956, 980. pressed by the superior forces of his antagonist, invited to his support the rovers of the north. France was again afflicted by their indefatigable rapacity: Independent and uncontrolled in their depredations, they refused to subscribe to the peace which Richard had concluded; and their retreat was with difficulty purchased by the treasures of France and Normandy: Yet Lothaire no sooner had disengaged himself from this distress, than, ever restless, he attempted to oppress his vassal, the young count of Flanders; that nobleman was preserved by the interposition of the Normans; and the king, baffled in his endeavours to aggrandize himself by arms, flattered himself, by advantageous alliances, with the hope of restoring the waning grandeur of the house of Charlemagne.

He espoused Emma, the daughter of Lothaire, king of Italy, and bestowed his sister on Conrad, king of Burgundy; but the short respite allowed by

by a peace was followed by years of desolating war; and the possession of Lorrain was disputed, during four successive campaigns, by the kings of Germany and France: Their subjects might mutually regret the destructive effects of ambition; but the success of Otho confirmed his authority, while the disappointment of Lothaire contributed to diminish the little reputation he had acquired.

Four years after, the death of Otho the Second dissolved the alliance between France
 A. D. 984, 986. and Germany, and awakened the hopes of Lothaire: That prince, under the pretence of supporting the claim of Otho the Third, invaded Lorrain, occupied Verdun, and assaulted Cambray; but as he indulged himself in the flattering idea of extending the limits of his kingdom,
 A. D. 986. he was surprised in the forty-sixth year
 March 2d. of his age, and the thirty-second of his reign, by the approach of death. He had already associated his son Lewis the Fifth to the throne; and his premature end, when his affairs had assumed the most favourable appearance, was imputed to poison, and the name of Emma, his queen, has been sullied by the breath of suspicion; but the report probably originated in the malice of Charles, the brother of the deceased monarch, always inimical to that princess, and who possibly hoped to substantiate

substantiate his pretensions to Lorrain amidst a scene of anarchy and discord.

The throne was filled by Lewis, whose weakness has been characterized by the expressive epithet of *Faineant*; and his A. D.
986, 987. inexperienced age of nineteen required the support of a mature and powerful guardian: Hugh Capet had been appointed to that important trust in the last moments of Lothaire; and the fidelity which he had preserved to the father was displayed in the short and turbulent reign of the son. But the mind of the headstrong youth was incapable of instruction; he drove with contempt and infamy his mother from his court; and the early death, which delivered his subjects from the dominion of vice and folly, has been ascribed to her implacable resentment. The last of the Carolingian kings, odious as he was despicable, sunk into the grave; and the founder of a new dynasty seized the vacant throne, and by his wife and temperate counsels restored the power and grandeur of France.

Chapter the Fourth.

A SHORT VIEW OF THE GOVERNMENT AND CUSTOMS OF THE FRANKS IN GERMANY.—AUTHORITY OF CLOVIS AND HIS SUCCESSORS.—DIVISION OF THE SPOILS AND LANDS.—THE NATURE OF ALLODIAL POSSESSIONS AND BENEFICES.—THE LAWS OF THE FRANKS UNDER THE FIRST AND SECOND RACE.—THE INFLUENCE OF THE CLERGY.—FRANCE IS CONVERTED FROM AN HEREDITARY INTO AN ELECTIVE MONARCHY.—THE CROWN IS TRANSFERRED FROM THE FAMILY OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THAT OF HUGH CAPET.

FROM the accession of Clovis to the extinction of the Carlovingian race, the reader is laboriously and ungratefully employed in tracing a series of unimportant wars and uninteresting events. The imperial majesty of Charlemagne darts indeed through the gloom a short ray of lustre; but the darkness soon returns, and the transient gleam, which his regulations afford, is over-shadowed by a long night of weakness and misery. The historian might perhaps have abandoned the turbulent

bulent and disgusting annals, distinguished only by bloody dissensions and kindred hatred, had he not conceived the tedious detail in some measure necessary to elucidate the early government and constitution of the country that he presumes to describe.

In this important investigation it will not probably be deemed superfluous to ascend to the more remote ages of barbarism. In the woods and the wilds of Germany, the Franks, in common with the other nations which inhabited the north of Europe, acknowledged the authority of magistrates, or *princes*: These were appointed in the general assembly to compose differences, and administer justice in their respective districts; but their power was limited; and although they were permitted annually to divide the landed property of the diocese they presided over, they were restrained from inflicting the smallest corporal punishment on a people tenacious of their freedom, and jealous of their honour. Each youth as soon as he attained the age of manhood, was girded with a sword, and claimed his right of voting in the national council: To this council, which met at stated seasons, or according to the public exigency, was referred the punishment of those capital crimes which exceeded the cognizance of the princes; and in it were agitated the important questions of peace

and war. When the last question was determined on, each tribe elected a general to guide his countrymen by his experience, or animate them by his example; but with the return of peace, the delegated authority expired, and the chief retired to a private station, unless the purity of his birth entitled him to the administration of justice, as the fame of his valour had recommended him to the command in arms.

But while the Franks rejected with disdain, or reluctantly submitted to the authority of their magistrates, they voluntarily bound themselves in engagements the most sacred and indissoluble. To borrow in the lively description of Tacitus, the elegant pen of a celebrated modern historian, The noblest youths blushed not to be numbered among the faithful companions of some renowned chief, to whom they devoted their arms and service. A noble emulation prevailed among the companions, to obtain the first place in the esteem of their chiefs; amongst the chiefs, to acquire the greatest number of valiant companions: To be ever surrounded by a band of select youths, was the pride and strength of their chiefs; their ornament in peace, their defence in war. The glory of such distinguished heroes diffused itself beyond the narrow limits of their own tribe. Presents and embassies solicited their friendship; and the fame of their
arms

arms often ensured victory to the party which they espoused. In the hour of danger it was shameful for the chief to be surpassed in valour by his companions; shameful for the companions not to equal the valour of their chief. To survive his fall in battle was indelible infamy; to protect his person, and to adorn his glory with the trophies of their own exploits, were the most sacred of their duties. The chiefs combated for victory; the companions, for the chief. The noblest warriors, whenever their native country was sunk in the laziness of peace, maintained their numerous bands in some distant scene of action, to exercise their restless spirit, and to acquire renown by voluntary dangers. Gifts worthy of soldiers; the warlike steed, the bloody and ever victorious lance, were the rewards which the companions claimed from the liberality of their chief. The rude plenty of his hospitable board was the only pay that *he* could bestow, or *they* would accept; War, rapine, and the free-will offerings of his friends, supplied the materials of his munificence.

Such were the early and warlike associations of the barbarians; and as their conquests became more considerable, these also became more extensive and permanent. The advantages which more civilised countries perceive in an hereditary monarchy, most probably never presented them-

selves to their observation ; but the fame of the father was respected in the son, and the hereditary virtues which attached them to a particular family, were insensibly converted into a claim of succession. In the fifth century, the different tribes of the Franks seated on the banks of the Rhine, all acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Merovingian race. These princes were elevated on a buckler, the symbol of military command, and the royal fashion of long hair was the ensign of their birth and dignity : Yet the influence of these long-haired kings was feeble and inadequate ; affairs of importance were still determined by the whole community ; and in war the martial youth followed the chieftain they approved, through choice and not constraint. When Clovis invaded the dominions of Syagrius, his own subjects amounted only to five thousand warriors ; but his force was swelled by the voluntary accession of the neighbouring tribes, and each hardy adventurer asserted his share in the conquests to which his valour had contributed. The followers of that prince had plundered a church in the city of Rheims, and carried off, among other sacred utensils, a vase of extraordinary beauty. The bishop sent deputies to Clovis, beseeching him to restore the vase, that it might again be employed in the sacred services to which it had been consecrated.

Clovis

Clovis desired the deputies to follow him to Soissons, as the booty was to be divided in that place, and promised, that if the lot should give him the disposal of the vase, that he would grant what the bishop desired. When he came to Soissons, and all the booty was placed in one great heap in the middle of the army, Clovis entreated, that before they made the division, they would give him the vase over and above his share. All appeared willing to gratify the king, and to comply with his request, when a fierce and haughty soldier lifted up his battle-axe, and striking the vase with the utmost violence, cried out with a loud voice, "You shall receive nothing here but that to which the lot gives you a right." The monarch repressed his rising indignation; and to avenge his insulted dignity, was compelled to stoop to the arts of patience and dissimulation. At the annual review of the month of March, when the arms of his warlike followers were diligently inspected, Clovis seized the pretence of military discipline; and as he levelled his battle-axe, or *francisca*, at the head of the devoted victim, the expression of "Remember the vase of Soissons," revealed the latent motives of the tardy chastisement.

The lands which had been wrested from the former possessors by the sword were equally divided,

and probably in the same manner as the spoil and personal effects; and this new division of property gradually introduced a species of government formerly unknown, and now distinguished by the name of the Feudal System. Though the barbarous nations which framed it, settled in their new territories at different times, came from different countries, spoke various languages, and were under the command of separate leaders, the feudal policy and laws were established with little variation in every kingdom in Europe: This amazing uniformity has induced some authors to believe, that all these nations, notwithstanding so many apparent circumstances of distinction, were originally the same people; but it may be ascribed with greater probability to the similar state of society and of manners to which they were accustomed in their native countries, and to the similar situation in which they found themselves, on taking possession of their new dominions,

The ground which the soldier thought requisite for his maintenance, or due to his valour, he seized by force, or acquired by lot, and retained without either homage or acknowledgement; he enjoyed it during his own life, and could dispose of it at pleasure, or transmit it as an inheritance to his children. This tenure was distinguished by the name of *allodial* (compounded of the Ger-

man particle *an* and *lot*, i. e. land obtained by lot) and implied the independance of the possessor, who held the entire property and dominion, without performing service, or owning any subordination to a superior lord. But as these new proprietors were exposed to the resentment and attacks of the ancient inhabitants, it became necessary that they should tacitly acquiesce in certain obligations for the protection of the community; and every freeman who refused, or neglected to arm in the common cause, was liable to a considerable penalty. Towards the conclusion of the sixth century of the christian æra, in the bloody discord of the Merovingian race, Chilperic, the first who ruled the kingdom of Soissons, and Childebert the Second, who had succeeded to the throne of Austrasia, exacted fines from certain persons who refused to accompany them in their expeditions. These fines could not be exacted while property continued in its first state, and military service was entirely voluntary; the nature of the tenure was insensibly changed, and military service was the condition on which each person held his allodial lands.

Such then was the situation of the original adventurer, who had carved out his fortunes by the strength of his arm; but fidelity on one side, and gratitude on the other, cemented by the powerful

hand of policy, soon established a new description of tenure, under the appellation of *beneficia*, or *benefices*. The king or leader of a tribe, whose wisdom or valour had directed or opened the road to conquest, was naturally gratified with the largest portion of the territory acquired. The land allotted to him he parcelled out to his adherents, binding them on whom it was bestowed to bear arms in his defence, and to follow his standard with a certain number of men. The example of the sovereign was imitated by his chief officers, who distributed also portions of their lands among their dependents, annexing to the grant the same conditions; and these benefices differed from the allodial lands, the latter binding the possessor only to serve the community, the former requiring him to arm in defence of the person from whom he had received the grant; who permitted him to enjoy it on the tacit condition of fidelity, and who might resume it at his pleasure.

The proprietor of the *allodial* lands was distinguished by the honourable appellation of *liber homo*, or *freeman*; and was opposed to the possessor of a benefice or fief, who was described by the servile denomination of *vassus*, or *vassal*. The former, it has already been observed, could only be summoned for the service of the state; and so jealous was the sovereign of this duty, that free-
men

men were prohibited from entering into holy orders, unless they had previously obtained the royal consent. The reason assigned for this singular statute, proclaims the nature and resources of government; "For we are informed that some do so, not so much out of devotion, as to avoid the military service which they are bound to perform." It was natural that a government, whose protection depended on the number and spirit of her freemen, should cautiously endeavour to restrain the rapid growth of a profession, the indiscreet exercise of which might impair the strength, and loosen the foundation of the monarchy.

But the claim of military service was all the freemen contributed, and all the state demanded. The imposition of taxes, under the accumulated weight of which modern empires bend, he was happily exempt from; that burden was reserved for the unhappy race of *bondsmen* and *villains*, the Gauls and Romans, who had been subjected by the sword of the barbarians. According to the maxims of ancient war, the conqueror became the lawful master of the enemy whom he had subdued and spared; and the wasted numbers of the original inhabitants were supplied by the martial enterprises of the Franks. The leader of a successful expedition, in his triumphant return, dragged after him a train of miserable captives; and those who
were

were destitute of arts, or charms, to minister to the pleasures of their lord, were condemned, without the smallest regard to their former situation, to tend the cattle, and cultivate the lands of the victorious barbarian: Their labours were rendered more heavy by the addition of the *census*, or *impost*; and the king, the clergy, and the lord, raised regular taxes on the bondsmen of their respective demesnes. These taxes are to be considered as private, not public obligations, and were peculiar to the bondsmen, from whom the *villains* only differed in paying a fixed rent to their master for the land which they cultivated, and retaining whatever remained of the fruits of their industry as their own property. But although this might prove in some measure an alleviation of their melancholy lot, they were, equally with the slaves, attached to the land, *adscripti villæ*, whence they derived their name, and were transferable with it.

This unhappy condition of men, who endured the weight without sharing the benefits of society, when the source of foreign supplies flowed in less abundance, was swelled through the more constant channel of domestic oppression. The policy of ancient Rome rendered it impossible for a citizen to lose or alienate his native freedom. When the imperial city was delivered to the licentious rage of Alaric, the Gothic king, the civil jurisprudence

prudence had qualified this law by a prudent and temporary regulation; and to preserve from the bloody caprice of the Goths, a train of useless captives whom none could legally purchase, it was ordained, that a Roman citizen should be compelled, by five years service, to discharge the price of his redemption. But the Franks despised the manners, and were ignorant of the laws of the Romans: The institutions which had prevailed through the wilds of Germany were frequently adopted, and generally diffused throughout their new settlements; and the subjects of the Merovingian kings claimed the fatal privilege of disposing of their personal freedom. Famine might prevail on the meagre wretch to purchase a continuance of life by all that can render it desirable; and the example of the poor was followed by the feeble, who, oppressed by the powerful possessors of lands, renounced their liberty, and became the voluntary slaves of the great. The former hoped for subsistence, the latter implored protection, from their new masters. In an edict of Charles the Bald, the humanity of that monarch commands that the freemen who had sold themselves, during a recent famine, should be ransomed and restored to their former condition; but this partial effort was more honourable to the prince than serviceable to the people; and the greater

greater part of the inhabitants of France was, at the commencement of the third race of kings, reduced to a state of abject slavery.

Before we proceed to consider the progressive change in the constitution, during the first and second race of the monarchs of France, it will, perhaps, gratify the curiosity of the reader, to glance his eye over a short sketch of the laws and institutions of the barbarians, who subdued and possessed the wealthy provinces of Gaul. The Salic laws were generally allowed to have been originally pronounced in the Latin tongue; and the ignorance of the barbarians of Germany may reasonably induce us to conclude, that the system of jurisprudence, which was delivered in a foreign language, could not have been framed before they had burst the limits of their native forests. A series of fifty years is comprised, from the accession of Clodion to that of Clovis; and during this period, it is more than probable, the Salic laws were first promulgated. But if the language in which they were delivered allows us to ascertain the æra of their birth, the features and temper of this celebrated code proclaim the country of the parent, and express the genuine spirit of the Franks. Four venerable chieftains, natives of four different cantons, whose claims have exercised the ingenuity of modern criticism, were appointed to compose

the Salic laws; and their labours were examined and approved in three successive assemblies of the people. The articles most incompatible with christianity were afterwards modified by the zeal and application of Clovis; and one hundred years after the establishment of the French monarchy, they were finally revised and promulgated by Dagobert, the fourth in descent from the royal proselyte. About the same time the customs of the *Ripuarrians* were carefully transcribed and published; and these are generally supposed to have prevailed from the Carbonarian forest to the Rhine, while the *Salic* laws were obeyed from the same forest to the banks of the Loire.

The admirable simplicity and original spirit of the Salic and Ripuarrian laws, as well as those of the Alemanni and Bavarians, vassals of the victorious Franks, have challenged the praise, and commanded the respect of modern legislators: They were adapted to the wants and desires, the occupations and capacity of the barbarians; yet the policy or indolence of the Merovingian princes, permitted each people, and each family of their empire, freely to enjoy their domestic institutions; nor were the Romans excluded from the common benefits of this legal toleration. The children embraced the *law* of their parents, the wife that of her husband, the free-man that of his

his patron; and in all causes where the parties were of different nations, the plaintiff, or the accuser, was obliged to follow the tribunal of the defendant.

But if some indulgence was granted to the vanquished nations in the choice and maintenance of their private laws, much more was allowed in the public institutions to the haughty spirit of the barbarian victors. Their lofty notions of superiority over the degenerate Gauls and Romans were studiously encouraged; their pious confidence in the interposition of heaven was devoutly cherished; and their unshaken reliance on their own personal strength and valour was legally inculcated.

The independent warrior of Germany scorned to repress the sanguinary emotions of his indignation; his hand was ever prompt to avenge the real or imaginary insult that rankled in his mind; the feeble authority of the magistrate might endeavour to propitiate, but could not even hope to extinguish his insatiate thirst for vengeance: Uncontrolled by the laws of his country, the offender had only to dread the resentment of the sons and kindred of him whom he had sacrificed; but the prince who could not punish, frequently interposed, to reconcile the contending parties; and he might applaud his powers of persuasion, if
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he could prevail on the one to pay, and the other to accept the moderate fine, which had been ascertained as the price of blood. A more rigorous sentence would have been rejected by the impatient Frank; yet still the equality of life was respected and the assassination of a peasant, or prince, was attended with a similar penalty. But the pride of victory inspired the haughty breast of the ferocious invader with loftier pretensions: New distinctions were created; different degrees of guilt were established, according to the condition of the devoted victim; and the prostrate Roman was taught to revere the existence of the insolent barbarian as of higher value than his own.

The *antrustion, qui in truste dominicâ est*, who possessed the royal confidence, and whose name is expressive of the most illustrious of the Franks in birth or dignity, might consider himself secured from the fatal resentment of his adversary by the protecting penalty of six hundred pieces of gold; but a noble Roman, although ^{300l. sterl.} he was admitted to partake of the hospitable and friendly board of the monarch, could be legally murdered for three hundred pieces. The life of a common Frank, or barbarian, was valued by the Salic law at two hundred pieces; but the death of a Roman proprietor might be expiated for one hundred, and that of a vassal for the trifling compensation

penfation of forty-five pieces of gold. The relative degrees of injuries were weighed with the fame scrupulous exactness: The Frank who was imprifoned by a Roman, could claim thirty pieces of gold; but fifteen were deemed fufficient to atone for the injufice of the Frank, who had wantonly confined a Roman. It is with aftonifhment that we review, in thefe criminal proceedings, the cool and deliberate injufice of the legiflators, who could thus arbitrarily appreciate the lives of the people they had vanquifhed; and, after fubduing them by their arms, ftudiously opprefs them by the iron rule of their laws. But the policy of the barbarians was like their limbs, coarfe and mafculine; the faftidious Frank was wrapt up in the contemplation of his own valour; and, incapable of reflection, he knew not how to feparate the worth of the individual from the degeneracy of the community which he had enflaved.

The *Ripuarian*, and in fome instances the *Salic* laws, proclaimed the impatient fpirit of thofe who compofed them. The reftlefs barbarian was but ill qualified for the patient adminiftration of juftice; and the illiterate chieftain, rejecting a tedious investigation of the truth, allowed the accufed to clear himfelf by his own oath, and the concurring oaths of a certain number of his friends. Thefe *compurgators*, fuch was their descriptive name,

name, were multiplied according to the nature of the accusation; and the assassin, or incendiary, might retire with impunity, if he could procure seventy-two fearless confederates, stedfastly to swear that he was innocent of the crime alledged. But when the chastity of Fredegonde, the widow of Chilperic, of Soissons, was impeached, and the legitimate birth of her son was questioned, the queen herself not only swore that the child was the offspring of her deceased husband, but three holy bishops, and three hundred gallant nobles, deposed, upon oath, that she had sworn truly: Yet history allows us still to suspect the fidelity of the queen to the bed of her consort; and the conduct of Fredegonde has furnished an ample subject for the pen of scandal. Even the indolence of the barbarian magistrate was vanquished by a series of unblushing perjuries; and from the evidence of man, the unhappy object of accusation was commanded to appeal to the judgement of God. The person who was arraigned, to justify his innocence, was required to plunge his arm in boiling water, to lift a red-hot iron, to walk barefoot over burning plough-shares, or to submit to some other experiment, equally perilous and formidable. The interposition of heaven, it was expected, would change the nature of the elements; and these extraordinary trials were so capriciously

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contrived, that guilt in some cases, and innocence in others, could not be proved without a miracle. The devouring rage of fire, it was presumed, *could* not affect the spotless; the pure element of water *would* not, it was determined, receive into its bosom the polluted. The atrocious criminal, who sunk, was eagerly saved from the wave, and acquitted; but the life and reputation of the innocent victim was abandoned, without pity, to the fury of the flames: Credulity was the parent of fraud; the credit of the ordeal was supported by a long succession of successful impostures; and the turbulent Frank, who rejected the decision of the magistrate, patiently acquiesced in the *judgment of God*.

A nation of warriors, fraught with lofty notions of honour and hereditary valour, believed the brave man ought never to be condemned, and the coward ought never to be acquitted. As a people, the high-spirited Germans had maintained in many a bloody field their martial reputation and haughty independence: The same confidence, with which they asserted the glory and freedom of their country, they displayed in vindicating their private conduct from the stain of reproach. Every man was the guardian of his own honour, and of his own life; and the justice of his cause, and his future character, depended on his own personal prowess.

proceeds. This mode of decision was considered accordingly as one of the happiest efforts of policy; and as soon as it was introduced, all the forms of trial by fire or water, and other superstitious experiments, fell into disuse, or were employed only in controversies between persons of inferior rank. The Salic laws for some time rejected the sanguinary and doubtful expedient; but it was early entertained and approved by the Ripuarian Franks; and Gundobald, king of Burgundy, condescended to answer the doubts and objections of the bishop Avitus. "Is it not true," said he, "that the event of national wars, and private combats, is directed by the judgement of God, and that his providence awards the victory to the juster cause?" However ridiculous this argument may appear, it was well adapted to an ignorant and superstitious age; but an edict of the same monarch reveals a more prudent and probable reason for the countenance he afforded to this sanguinary practice: "It is to prevent our subjects from attesting on oath, what they sometimes are ignorant of, and what they frequently know to be false." The same remedy was rapidly applied in every kingdom to the same evil; the custom soon extended from Burgundy throughout Europe; and was successfully propagated in every monarchy, from Sicily

to the Baltic. It was authoris'd by Charlemagne and Lewis le Debonnaire; and before the end of the Carlovingian race, it received the sanction of Otho the Second, emperor of Germany. During ten successive centuries it withstood the ineffectual censures of saints, of popes, and of synods; and the feeble and enervated citizen was oppress'd in the unequal conflict by the strength and skill of the martial barbarian.

The solemnities of a judicial combat were such as might naturally be expected in a formal appeal to God, and in the final decision of questions of the highest moment. The accuser, in the presence of the judge, asserted that the person whom he chose to impeach had been guilty of a specified crime; the accused made answer that he lied, and the judge gave orders that they should maintain the justice of their cause by arms. Before the combatants engaged, their relations were commanded to retire; silence was enjoined by the magistrate; and the most severe penalties prohibited the spectators from offering any assistance to either of the contending parties: The lists were properly and carefully guarded by the civil power; the trumpet sounded; and the champion, who came off victorious, was pronounced acquitted by the *judgment of God*. Ecclesiastics, women, and minors, who could not with decency or justice be compelled

compelled to take up arms, nor to maintain their own cause, were forced to entrust their lives and reputations to those whom they could engage to enter the lists in their defence. The first might depend upon the ready zeal of a superstitious age; the personal charms of the second might probably animate the coldest warrior; but the third could only hope protection from the influence of interest. The principals on these occasions were placed where they could not behold the battle; each was bound with the cord destined for his execution if his champion was overcome; and the champion himself, that he might engage with more obstinacy in the cause he espoused, atoned for his defeat by the loss of his hand.

At the commencement of the third race, even the judges themselves were subject to these judicial combats; their opinions might be interrupted by the contending parties, and they might be challenged to defend the integrity of their decisions by arms. The honour of the magistrate was to be vindicated in a field of blood. If his authority was contemned, he insisted on satisfaction with his sword, and the words in which he demanded it were few and peremptory: "I sent for thee, and thou didst not come; I demand therefore satisfaction for this thy contempt." The lists were accordingly prepared,

and the breast of the magistrate was exposed to the lance of the culprit. To use the words
Robertson. of an elegant and profound Historian,
“ By this barbarous custom the natural course of
“ proceeding, both in civil and criminal questions,
“ was entirely perverted. Force usurped the place
“ of equity in courts of judicature, and justice
“ was banished from her proper mansion. Dis-
“ cernment, learning, and integrity, were quali-
“ ties less necessary to a judge, than personal
“ strength and dexterity in the use of arms.
“ Daring courage and superior vigour or address
“ were of more moment towards securing the fa-
“ vourable issue of a suit, than the equity of a
“ cause, or the clearness of the evidence.” Men
of course applied themselves to cultivate the ta-
lents which they found to be of the greatest utility.
As strength of body and address in arms were
no less requisite in those lists which they were
obliged to enter, in defence of their private rights,
than in the field of battle where they met the
enemies of their country, it became the great
object of education, as well as the chief employ-
ment of life, to acquire these martial accomplish-
ments. The administration of justice, instead of
accustoming men to listen to the voice of equity,
or to reverence the decisions of law, added to the
ferocity of their manners, and taught them to
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consider force as the great arbiter of right and wrong.

The preceding pages may impress the reader with the temper and manners of the conquerors of Gaul, from their customs and institutions; one article of the Salic law still demands our attention: "No part of the Salic lands shall be inherited by a woman; but being acquired by the males, male *children* only shall be capable of succeeding." Yet this article only expressed that the males shall succeed to the lands of their *father*; but in five articles, which precede this, it is positively declared, that if a man dies without *issue*,
1. His father *or* his mother shall succeed him.
2. If he has neither father nor mother, the patrimony shall pass to his brother *or sister*. 3. If he has neither brother nor sister, the *sister* of his *mother* may claim his estate. 4. If his mother has no sister, the next right is assigned to the *sister* of his father; and, 5. If his father has no sister, the nearest relation by the male side shall succeed. Thus, in the third and fourth articles, a direct preference is given to the females over the males, and particularly in the third article the sister of the mother is entitled to succeed in prejudice to the sister of the father. Even the fifth article, which decrees that after the father's sister, the inheritance should pass to the nearest male relation,

is immediately afterwards limited; and it is declared, that if this relation is beyond the fifth degree, the regulation ceases, and the female may again assert the claim of proximity of blood. Yet, although the Salic law can be accused of partiality to the males in one instance alone, and in regulating the succession, prefers the sons only to the daughters, this has undoubtedly been extended to the exclusion of females from the throne of France; and the natural rights of the more amiable sex have been thrust aside by the arm of the stronger. The assertion is corroborated by a transient glance of the laws of the neighbouring barbarians: The Burgundians, equally with the Salians, precluded daughters from inheriting the land in conjunction with their brothers, and they were equally debarred from ascending the throne. The Visigoths, with superior liberality, allowed the claim of the daughter equally with that of the son; regulation of private property was extended to public authority; and the sceptre of the Visigoths might be grasped by a female hand. Among the Lombards, Theudelinda, the daughter of Garibald, king of Bavaria, and the widow of Autharis, the king of Lombardy, was permitted to fill the throne with the person on whom she bestowed her hand; and Amalasontha, after the death of her son Athalaric, ruled with absolute sway the kingdom

dom of the Ostrogoths; and when she consented to divide her throne, her choice was determined by the descent of Theodatus from the princess Amalafreda.

From this hasty review of the laws and customs of the Franks and barbarians, we return once more to the political constitution, the progressive history of which is the principal object of our enquiries. The *freeman*, conscious of his haughty independence, might, in the annual assemblies of the people, controul or insult the feeble authority of the sovereign; but the *vassal* respected the voice of his benefactor, and readily obeyed the hand which had bestowed on him his benefice, and which could resume it at pleasure. The lands originally assigned to the monarch were proportionably more extensive than those of his nobles: His vassals were more numerous, and his influence consequently superior; but the precarious tenure which depended on the caprice of another, did not long satisfy those who enjoyed it; and by various means the vassals gradually obtained a confirmation of their benefices during life. This practice appears first to have been introduced by Charles Martel; but it was not till his descendants had ascended the throne, that the benefices were converted into hereditary fiefs, and the property taken out of the hands of the lord, and lodged in those of the vassal,

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The influence of the crown was checked and diminished by this important change; the prerogative of the monarch had derived some support from his liberality; the wealth of the Merovingian princes consisted in their extensive domains, the prize of their martial labours; and one hundred and sixty royal mansions, or farms, appear to have been scattered through the provinces occupied by the Franks: This ample patrimony was appropriated to supply the hospitality of Clovis and his successors, and to reward the fidelity of their brave companions. But as soon as the rapacious and independent nobles had established the perpetual property and hereditary succession of their benefices, a new order of tyrants arose in the provinces, who under the appellation of *seniors*, or lords, oppressed the subject, and insulted the sovereign. Secure of personal independence, the powerful chiefs neglected the labours of government; the national council was rarely summoned; and when summoned, more rarely attended; and the monarchy was left without any regular establishment of justice, of arms, or of revenue. The successors of Clovis wanted resolution to assume, or strength to exercise the legislative and executive powers which the people had abdicated: The royal prerogative was distinguished only by a more ample privilege of rapine and murder; and the love
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of freedom was reduced among the licentious Franks to a contempt of order, and a desire of impunity.

The same spirit of encroachment which rendered fiefs hereditary, excited the insatiate nobles to extort from their sovereigns hereditary offices and honours; so solicitous were the monarchs to guard against this spirit of usurpation, and so well apprised were they of the consequences, that, on some occasions, they obliged the person whom they promoted to any office of dignity, to grant an obligation, that neither they nor their heirs should claim it as belonging to them by hereditary right. This feeble barrier was soon trampled on by a daring and powerful nobility; a new change in government was introduced by this revolution in property; the extensive possessions of the great vassals of the crown were gradually accompanied by a proportional degree of power; they depressed the jurisdiction of the king, and overwhelmed the privileges of the people; and the progress of feudal acquisitions distinctly marks the different periods of the constitution, and the successive political influence of the king and the people.

The first princes of the Merovingian race had regarded, with an eye of suspicion, the aggrandisement of their nobles, and had watched their growing greatness with a commendable jealousy; their

their prudent precautions had annually changed the governors of the provinces or districts; and the regulations which sagacity had dictated, yielded only to the persuasive voice of immediate interest, and the fatal spirit of avarice. In the reign of Gontram, king of Burgundy, Peonius, count or governor of Auxerre, employed his son to purchase the continuance of his authority; the son betrayed the trust, and employed the money to procure the appointment for himself: But the transaction proclaims the corruption of the times, and the narrow policy of the sordid Monarch, whose successor, Clotaire the Second, effaced the remembrance of the indiscretion by a still greater, and conferred on Warnacharius, the Mayor of Burgundy, his office for life. We revere the piety of the king, who respected the oath which distress had extorted; but the successors of Clotaire had reason to regret the improvident liberality which so materially injured, and so visibly impaired the royal dignity.

The king had established the office of mayor for life; and the privilege of bestowing that important appointment was claimed by the people. On the death of Warnacharius, Clotaire demanded of the assembly, whom he should raise to the formidable trust; but the voice of the council waved the dangerous election, and declared its
implicit

implicit confidence in the sole administration of the monarch. His son Dagobert succeeded with his throne to his popularity; during the successive reigns of these two princes, the regal authority was preserved pure and undiminished; nor was the dignity of the throne insulted by the presence of a rival subject. But on the death of Dagobert the appointment of mayor was again revived; and in a short time the influence of these powerful ministers overshadowed that of the crown. The nation, jealous of royal and hereditary power, was ready to commit the reins of government to the creatures of their own favour, whose fortunes were founded on popular esteem, and whose authority might be limited by the public distrust.

The arm of the mayor was soon stretched from the palace to the camp; the command of the armies, the disposal of the revenues, the distribution of the fiefs, or benefices, were vested in the same person; and the civil and military administration were divided from the tottering throne. The Franks were accustomed in their native barbarism, to revere the illustrious birth of their princes, the valour and genius of their generals; the former were hereditary, the latter elective; and the Merovingian kings, and these aspiring mayors, perpetuated in Gaul a system which had originated in the wilds of Germany. It was impossible that a

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government formed of such discordant materials should long subsist; the least spark was sufficient to kindle the combustible matter; and the jealousy of the monarch, or the ambition of the minister, sprung the fatal mine: A series of bloody wars was closed by the victories of Pepin, duke of Austrasia, and his illegitimate son, Charles Martel. The reins of government dropped from the feeble hands of the Merovingian successors of Clovis: The phantom of royalty might, for some time, serve to amuse, or delude the people, but even that vanished at length: The manly spirit of Pepin, surnamed the Short, scorned even the shadow of a master; under his administration the Merovingian race was extinguished; and with the approbation of the people, the support of the nobles, and the concurrence of the Roman pontiff, the successful mayor ascended the throne, and transferred the sceptre of France to a new dynasty.

The holy decision of pope Zachary dissolved the allegiance of the Franks to the posterity of Clovis, and limited the future choice of the nation to the Carolingian race; nor had the inferior clergy been less zealous in the cause of Pepin, than the representative of St. Peter; the barbarians had early found the ministers of the gospel possessed of considerable wealth and power; the new proselytes to the Christian religion, revered

in his chosen servants, the God they adored; but it is possible the monarch beheld their rising greatness with a different eye from his subjects, and there is still extant a speech of Chilperic, grandson of Clovis, in which he complained that the landed property was monopolized by the church: "Our exchequer," said he, "is impoverished, and our riches are transferred to the clergy; none reign now but bishops, who live in grandeur while ours is eclipsed." Yet the jealousy of the king was not able to stem the torrent; and the stream of ecclesiastical wealth was swelled by the liberality of Pepin the Fat. Through successive reigns it continually increased in its course. and though checked for a moment by the powerful hand of Charles Martel, yet it soon regained its force, and threatened at length to overwhelm the authority of the people and the crown. The persons of the clergy were already deemed sacred as their function; and it would have been considered as impious to subject them to the same jurisdiction as the laity; their attention to spiritual, did not allow them to neglect their temporal, concerns; and they improved the credulity of a superstitious age to the establishment of courts, in which every question that regarded their own character and property was tried; the fiefs which had been seized by Charles Martel were

compensated for by the pious generosity of Pepin the Short, and the establishment of tythes in the subsequent reign of Charlemagne. The esteem of the Imperial votary bestowed on them that civil jurisdiction and temporal dominion, which the piety of his son Lewis might confirm, but his experience must have disapproved, through the vicissitudes of a long and turbulent reign.

The decision of the Roman pontiff had transferred the royal title to Pepin, and the name of king was united to the highest office of the state; but although the Franks were commanded, under the penalty of interdiction, to perpetuate the regal authority in his family, they were indulged with the liberty of choosing the most worthy or most popular of his race. This elective right is confirmed by the division of the empire which Charlemagne made among his three children. After he had finally allotted to each his respective inheritance, he adds, “ that if one of the three
“ brothers should have a son whom the people
“ are willing to choose as a fit person to succeed
“ to his father’s kingdom, his uncles shall con-
“ sent to it.” A similar regulation marks, in the assembly of Aix le Chapelle, the partition of the dominions of Lewis le Debonnaire among his children, Pepin, Lewis, and Charles; and the important privilege of the people is clearly ascer-
tained

tained by the coronation oath of Lewis the Stam-merer: "I, Lewis, by the Divine Mercy, and "by the *people's election*, appointed king." And from the accession of the second race, France may be considered as changed from a hereditary into an elective monarchy.

The authority of the annual assemblies, at the commencement of the second dynasty, was still vigorous and unimpaired; their right of determining which of the royal family should be placed upon the throne has already been noticed; they were regularly assembled and consulted in affairs of the greatest importance; and without their consent no law was passed, and no new tax levied; even the imperial fortune of Charlemagne acknowledged the constitutional authority of the national council; his penetrating mind carefully balanced every order of the state, and remained perfect master of them all; and his commanding genius united the whole in one grand political system: But his death dissolved the confederacy; his son succeeded to the unwieldy empire, with a temper better suited to a convent than a palace; his clemency encouraged the turbulent spirit of the nobles; his piety nourished the holy ambition of the clergy. His dominions, on his decease, were disputed with the inveteracy of fraternal hatred; and the death of one hundred thousand French in the

battle of Fontenoy, loosened the very foundations of the monarchy: The vassals of the crown, under the reign of Charlemagne, had been compelled, in case of any war, to repair to the standard of their prince; but the nobles of France regarded with disgust the bloody field of civil commotion; and the rival brothers were compelled to soothe their indignation, by limiting the claim of service to the exigency of defensive war. About the same period, a new regulation of Charles the Bald, ordained that the son should succeed to the fief or government of his father; and the source of power, by the imprudence of that prince, was again removed at a greater distance from the throne.

From this æra is to be dated the rapid decline of the race of Charlemagne; the Normans and Saracens afflicted with incessant invasions the unhappy kingdom; and the vassals of the crown, who should have opposed them, assumed the haughty tone of independence: The sovereign no longer possessed any direct authority; his dependents were few, while those of his nobles were daring and numerous: The royal jurisdiction was confined to the cities or districts of Rheims and Laon; and the powerful barons derided his summons, and invaded his prerogative. Each within his own diocese assumed those privileges which
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ought to have been possessed by the king alone: From the gates of his castle the lordly chief issued with a train of fearless followers, and ravaged and oppressed the country round. The count, whose influence extended over a wider space, maintained in his territory a more ample and more regular authority; he dispensed justice, coined money, and waged war at pleasure; and if ever he joined the royal standard, it was to gratify, under the name of his sovereign, his own resentment, or to pursue his own interest, in the reduction of some rival vassal.

The constitution was rent between the extremes of anarchy and despotism; and the eyes and hopes of an harrassed people were turned on Hugh Capet, duke of France. The dying bequest of the crown, from the feeble Lewis the Fifth, had ever been received with just suspicion; nor could a monarch, whose own authority was elective, transfer the power he was entrusted with, or in the last moments of an unfortunate reign, command the voice of the nation. The preference of Hugh Capet to fill the throne of France, was derived from a different source than the expiring breath of regal imbecillity; his grandfather had tasted of royalty, and the glory of his father was still fresh in the minds of his friends and adherents; he himself possessed the important cities of Paris and

Orleans, which commanded the navigation of the Seine and the Loire, and could alone check the piratical depredations of the Normans; affection and interest combined to direct the choice of the nation; and the crown, which in the election of Pepin was annexed to the greatest *office*, was, in the person of Hugh Capet, annexed to the greatest *fief*.

Chapter the Fifth.

ACCESSION OF HUGH CAPET TO THE THRONE OF FRANCE.—CHARLES, DUKE OF LORRAIN, ASSERTS HIS CLAIM;—HE IS DEFEATED AND TAKEN PRISONER.—DEATH OF HUGH.—SUCCESSIVE REIGNS OF HIS SON AND GRANDSON, ROBERT THE FIRST, AND HENRY THE FIRST.—WILLIAM, SURNAMED THE BASTARD, ESTABLISHES HIS AUTHORITY OVER NORMANDY.

THE hand of death had torn the diadem from the temples of the feeble Lewis, and placed it on the prudent brows of Capet: Yet one competitor appeared to dispute the invaluable acquisition; and the arm of A. D. 987. Charles, duke of Lorrain, and uncle to the deceased king, was stretched out to intercept the royal prize. The necessities of the state induced a people, oppressed by innumerable calamities, to prefer the merit and power of Hugh Capet to the last of the male line of Charlemagne. The election of the duke of France annexed to the crown the fertile and wealthy dioceses of Paris and Orleans; to his own possessions might be added his

splendid and advantageous connections; his brother Henry occupied the rich duchy of Burgundy; and his brother-in-law, the duke of Normandy, was attached to his interest by the ties of friendship as well as of marriage; while Charles, independent of his unpopular manners, was doomed to experience the implacable resentment of the dowager queen, Emma; who, with unceasing hatred, pursued the slanderer of her reputation, and sought to avenge the injurious rumour which named her as the poisoner of her husband.

The precautions of the duke of France were visible in the rapid measures he adopted. In a few days after the decease of Lewis he was proclaimed king at Nojon, and was solemnly crowned at Rheims; yet several of the powerful nobles maintained an haughty silence, and their sullen reserve and absence from the coronation betrayed their envious disgust at the elevation of their late equal. Had activity been among the qualities of the duke of Lorraine, he might probably have established his plausible pretensions; but it was the misfortune of that prince to be characterized by a spirit of procrastination; and though neither deficient in courage or capacity when once roused to arms, he continued to deliberate when he ought to have acted, and suffered his rival to take the field before he erected the

the standard of opposition, and collected his scattered partizans. While his irresolution cooled the flame of his open, and extinguished the favourable warmth of his secret friends, the king, impatient of resistance, and eager to embrace the auspicious moment, prepared with a numerous force to humble those lords who had refused to yield him homage. William, duke of Guienne, or, as he is sometimes stiled, of Aquitain, was the most considerable among the vassals of the crown who rejected the authority of their new sovereign; the royal army entered the territory of the contumacious chief, and invested the city of Poitiers; but the king was recalled from this enterprize by the intelligence, that the duke of Lorrain, with the assistance of Herbert, count of Troyes, whose daughter he had married, had levied a formidable force in Champagne, and menaced his defenceless dominions. To protect his unguarded subjects, and to engage the rival of his crown, Hugh hastily raised the siege of Poitiers, and by forced marches pressed towards the banks of the Loire; but his retreat was harrassed by the hostile attacks of the duke of Guienne; and that nobleman was at length encouraged by the number of his troops to encounter in a decisive field the arms of his sovereign. The conflict was short and bloody; and the defeat of the duke was followed by his

immediate submission. Hugh seized the favourable hour of victory; and to secure the throne to his family, proposed, in an assembly of the nobles, the association of his son Robert: His success ensured the approbation of the barons, humbled by

the chastisement of the duke of Guienne;
^{1 Jan.}
 A. D. 988. and Robert, at Orleans, received the crown from the hands of the archbishop of Sens.

The prudence of Hugh was incessantly displayed in the measures he pursued; but the efforts of his rival compelled him also to exert his valour. Charles had improved the moments of absence,

A. D. and with the city of Laon had possessed
 989, 991. himself of the person of his inveterate enemy, the queen dowager Emma. On the approach of Hugh he was reduced to retire within the walls of his new acquisition; and the activity of the monarch was stimulated by the importance of the prize: Laon was closely invested on every side; yet in a successful sally of the besieged, a considerable detachment of the royal army was destroyed; and the king endured the mortification of relinquishing the hopeless enterprise. Even his policy on this occasion served only to augment his distress; the archbishopric of Rheims was offered by Hugh, and accepted by Arnold, the nephew of Charles, and the illegitimate son of his brother Lothaire, as the price of his desertion; but

but the monarch was stained with the perfidy of the intrigue without reaping the benefit. Arnold had scarce occupied the see and city of Rheims, before he betrayed the gates to the duke of Lorraine; and the thin veil with which he affected to conceal his double treachery, by a pretended captivity, was renounced, to appear in arms at the head of his uncle's troops.

With a numerous army Hugh directed his march towards, and threatened the revolted city; but when he had diverted the attention of his rival to the defence of Rheims, he suddenly changed the object of his enterprise, and rapidly advanced to Laon. He had already secured in his interest the bishop of that place, who had at first been imprisoned as the paramour of Emma, and was now admitted into the confidence of Charles. The holy prelate hesitated not to imitate the example of his superior the archbishop of Rheims; the city of Laon was surprised by his intelligence, and the arms of Hugh; the duke of Lorraine, with his consort and the archbishop of Rheims, was involved in the general captivity; the two former were dismissed to end their days in an easy confinement in the city of Orleans; their son was allowed to enjoy the duchy of Lorraine; and his death without a son terminated the male line of Charlemagne,

But

But the perfidy of Arnold called for more exemplary punishment. The priest who opened the gates of Rheims betrayed his trust, and acknowledged the orders he had received from the archbishop. That prelate, by the decree of a council in which the archbishop of Sens presided, was reluctantly condemned; and the favourable inclinations of the president and several other members toward him, were rendered ineffectual by a voluntary subscription to his own confession and degradation: The vacant see was bestowed on Gerbert, a monk of Rheims, celebrated in those days of ignorance for his learning; but the court of Rome resented with indignation the proceedings which had been adopted without her concurrence. The holy pride of pope John the Fifteenth, dispatched into France a legate, commissioned to revise the sentence. A second council was held at Rheims, and the papal power was gratified by the deposition of Gerbert, and the restoration of Arnold. Yet the guilt of that prelate was not even attempted to be effaced; and he was re-seated on the archiepiscopal throne, because he had been compelled to descend from it without the sanction of the holy see. This decree added little to the comforts of Arnold; and Hugh, more apprehensive of his intrigues than the power of the pope, still detained him prisoner.

The

The authority of the king of France over a turbulent nobility was feeble and precarious; his victory near Poitiers had for a moment checked their insolence, but it was soon displayed again in a series of domestic wars and bloody commotions. The count of Anjou, a vassal of the crown, had in a private quarrel besieged the city of Tours; the royal mandate commanded him to relinquish the lawless enterprise; his haughty refusal provoked the messenger to the insulting question of "Who made *you* a count!" The indignant answer proclaims the independent spirit of the barons: "Tell your master, the same who made *him* a king." The monarch, sensible of his delicate situation, and hopeless of repressing the daring and factious chieftains, suffered them to waste their strength in mutual hostilities, and remained an unconcerned spectator of their sanguinary feuds; yet his own measures were imperceptibly directed to augment the power of the crown. Paris, under his reign, became the seat of government; and under pretence of curbing the incursions of the Normans, he fortified several advantageous stations, and established a magazine of arms at Abbeville: The tranquillity in which he passed the rest of his reign must be ascribed to the prudence of his conduct; and near ten years after he ascended the throne of France, and in the
fifty

fifty-seventh year of his age, he expired in his capital, leaving his dominions in perfect quiet, and his son in peaceable possession of the crown.

The character of Hugh Capet is not marked with those commanding features which generally distinguish the founder of a new dynasty; but his policy was suited to the times in which he lived, and his moderation disarmed the jealousy of his powerful peers. Modest in his apparel, abstemious in his diet, and simple in his manners, he enjoyed in a palace the comforts of domestic life; and his private happiness was secured by the chaste virtues and amiable qualities of his consort Adelaide. From the moment that he associated his son to the regal authority, he abstained himself from the use of the ensigns of royalty; and if some praise is due to the greatness of mind which scorned the pageantry of power, more will always be ascribed to the clemency of a prince who transferred to his family a sceptre unstained with blood, and who in an age of violence preserved the reputation of unblemished humanity.

Few princes ever commenced their reign with more natural advantages than Robert.
A. D. 996. At the decease of his father he was in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and the graces of his mind and body have been equally celebrated by the pen of the historian. The people had already

already been accustomed to respect him as their monarch; and the prudent maxims of his predecessor were imprinted on his mind, and adopted with more than filial veneration. Yet the rising sun of his grandeur was darkened by the clouds of private and public anxiety; and he was doomed to regret the spiritual dominion of the Roman pontiff, and the inflexible despotism of the representatives of St. Peter, the source of so much misery to himself and his successors. During his father's life he had contracted a marriage with Bertha, the sister of Rodolph, king of Burgundy, and the widow of Eudes, count of Blois. But the count of Blois was unfortunately related to Hugh Capet, and Robert himself had stood sponsor to one of that nobleman's children. Either of these reasons was sufficient to awaken the convenient conscience of pope Gregory the Fifth. That prelate, the nephew of Otho the Third, emperor of Germany, affected to maintain and augment the dignity of the holy see. In vain did the king of France endeavour to soothe him by submission; the thunders of the Vatican were continually pointed against the inauspicious nuptials, and although suspended, could not be averted by the deposition of Gerbert, and the restoration of Arnold to the archiepiscopal throne of Rheims. Without appeasing the pope he ensured the re-
sentment

sentment of Gerbert, who, deprived of his see, threw himself into the arms of Otho, was created archbishop of Ravenna, and assisted at a council which annulled the marriage between Robert and Bertha. The sentence of excommunication was pronounced; and the monarch, after an ineffectual struggle, was compelled by the clamours of his subjects to renounce the partner of his bed, to whom his attachment was the more honourable, as the match was rather suggested by interest than affection: Yet Bertha, without youth or beauty, preserved an influence over the mind of her husband; and, deprived of her crown, retained the esteem and admiration of those who once had revered her as their queen.

The death of pope Gregory the Fifth contributed but little to alleviate the distress of Robert; Gerbert was raised from the see of Ravenna to the apostolical chair; and the Roman pontiff, though he confirmed Arnold in the possession of the archbishopric of Rheims, refused to revoke the proceedings of his predecessor; while Robert, desirous of heirs, espoused Constance, the daughter of William, count of Arles. The personal charms of the princess had inflamed the passions of the king; but it was the misfortune of this prince scarce to taste of domestic happiness. His first wife, the daughter of Berenger,

A. D. 993.

renger, king of Italy, and the widow of Arnold, count of Flanders, was early ravished from him by death. The fate of Bertha has been already described; and the king, after separating from a wife whom he wished to retain, was now compelled to retain a wife from whom he wished to separate. The beauty of Constance concealed a mind haughty, vain, and capricious; and the flame that was kindled by her eyes was extinguished by her insolence and avarice.

For twelve years the subjects of France had enjoyed a state of uninterrupted and unwonted tranquillity; but the death of Henry, duke of Burgundy, and the last brother of Hugh Capet, was the signal for war. His wealthy dominions were disputed by Eudes, his natural son, and to whom he had bequeathed the country of Beauvois; by Otho William, surnamed the *Stranger*, the son of his widow by her first marriage, and whose claim was supported by a fictitious adoption of the late duke; and by Robert the king of France, who urged his lawful succession to the inheritance of his deceased uncle. The different pretensions of the competitors could only be decided by arms; but the forces of Robert were strengthened by the troops of his kinsman, the duke of Normandy. Though repulsed in his first attempt on Auxerre, that

town

town afterwards capitulated; its example was followed by Sens; and the walls of Avalon are reported miraculously to have fallen before the victor. Yet even the most credulous must allow that the cruelty of the monarch ill deserved the interposition of Divine Providence; the favour of heaven was ill repaid by the inhumanity of the king; and the wretched inhabitants were doomed to expiate their resistance by exile and death. Six years were consumed in the gradual reduction of Burgundy; Otho William was compelled to abandon his vain hopes, and to relinquish whatever places he had occupied: Eudes acquiesced in the peaceable enjoyment of the country of Beauvois; and Robert, to gratify the Burgundians, desirous of an independent prince, and to soothe his own vassals, jealous of their power in the aggrandizement of the crown, bestowed the duchy on, and invested his son Henry with the title of duke of Burgundy.

The calamities of a distant war were scarce felt
A.D. by the French; but it was with horror
1006, 1016. they beheld the ravages of a long and
destructive famine: For five successive years the
unhappy people groaned beneath that scourge of
human nature; and although the computation,
that one-third of the inhabitants of France perished,
may be swelled beyond the bounds of truth
or

or probability, it is sufficient to prove the uncommon violence with which it raged, and the devastations that it made. The monarch himself was indeed exempted from the immediate danger of his subjects; but the sense of personal security was overwhelmed by the public distress; and Robert was doomed to lament his ineffectual efforts to relieve the misery of his people.

The palace, inaccessible to the assaults of famine, was pervaded by domestic strife and contention; and Robert, to sooth the impatient temper of his consort, was compelled, against the advice of his ministers, to associate to the throne his eldest son Hugh. That unprincipled woman had not hesitated to employ against the counsellors who dissuaded him, the dagger of assassination; and the king beheld, even in the royal presence, a faithful servant atone with his life for his imprudent integrity. Yet Hugh himself was not long invested with the regal dignity before he revolted against the over-bearing disposition of his mother; accompanied by a band of nobles, attached to him by a parity of years and similarity of temper, he appeared in arms: The queen would willingly have employed force to reduce him; but the king preferred the more lenient mode of remonstrance, and reclaimed a prince

who never afterwards transgressed the duty he owed to his parent and his sovereign.

The character of Robert was stamped by the honourable testimony of Henry, king
A. D. 1023, 1025. of Germany, and his discontented subjects, the nobles of Lorrain. These agreed to refer their differences to the determination of the king of France; an interview between the two monarchs, on the banks of the Meuse, adjusted the terms of reconciliation, and was concluded with mutual, and, perhaps, sincere professions of esteem: The more powerful motive of interest bound them in a confederacy against the arrogance of pope Boniface the Eighth; a seasonable death probably saved the Roman pontiff from the mortification of submission; and the year following was distinguished by the decease of Henry. The nobles of Italy, tired of a long succession of German emperors, offered the imperial dignity to Robert; but the splendid proposal, which the prudence and moderation of the king of France declined, was hastily and improvidently accepted by William, duke of Guienne; that powerful noble was soon reduced to lament his own indiscretion, and the fickle disposition of the Italians. On the appearance of Conrad, who had succeeded to the throne of Germany, the natives of Italy, with their accustomed levity, flocked to

his banner; the imperial crown was placed on his head by pope John the Nineteenth, and William was forced to retire before the arms of his successful competitor.

Whatever satisfaction Robert might derive from the situation of public affairs, was continually embittered by a series of domestic discord and calamity: His feelings, as a A.D. 1026. parent, were wounded by the premature death of his eldest son Hugh, with whom he had divided the regal title, and whose virtues he was acquainted with and esteemed; his happiness, as a husband, was continually broken by the imperious disposition of his consort. On the death of Hugh it was natural that he should associate his next son, Henry, to the dignity which he had imparted to his deceased brother; but the justice of this nomination was opposed with indecent warmth and obstinacy by Constance; and her partiality for her younger son, Robert, agitated the court with all the fury of contending factions. Yet the secret arts of intrigue, the open violence of the queen, in vain assailed the inflexible integrity of the king; the rights of primogeniture were respected; in an assembly at Rheims Henry received the crown from the impartial justice of his father; and Robert, his younger brother, re-

fusing to join in the daring measures of Constance, became equally the object of her hatred and persecution.

The two princes, harassed by the incessant
A. D. 1027, 1030. enmity of their mother, retired from court, and entered into an alliance for their mutual defence; the eldest possessed himself of the castle of Dreux, the younger occupied the city of Avalon, in the duchy of Burgundy. The unnatural passions of a female had already kindled the torch of civil commotion, and the gloomy flame was beheld with horror throughout the kingdom of France: At the head of a numerous army Robert advanced to reduce his revolted sons; but his march was interrupted by the remonstrances of William, abbot of St. Benigne; the affectionate parent readily listened to the representations of the pious priest; he was soon convinced that the princes, instead of arming against his authority, sought only protection against the active hatred of their mother. The moment of explanation was that of submission on one side, and pardon on the other; the sons were again restored to the confidence of their father; and the force which had been assembled to extinguish the dissensions of his family, was happily employed by Robert in humbling the haughty nobles

nobles of Burgundy, who had presumed to withhold the homage due to their sovereign.

A reign of almost incessant prosperity, a life of successive domestic misery, were closed by the expedition into Burgundy; and three and thirty years from his ascending the throne, and in the sixtieth year of his age, Robert expired

A. D. 1031.

at Melun, amidst the tears and lamentations of his subjects. His own prudence and moderation contributed to, and almost insured the public happiness which had so honourably distinguished his administration; and the virtues which he displayed in private, might have secured him the enjoyment of domestic comfort with a temper less arrogant and turbulent than that of his consort; but amidst the splendor of a palace, the monarch was often induced to envy the condition of the meanest peasant; and the loss of Bertha was aggravated by the possession of Constance. The rigour with which he punished, in the reduction of Burgundy, the obstinate resistance of the inhabitants of Avalon, had cast a slight shade on a reign of unprecedented clemency; and a people whose annals hitherto have displayed almost a constant succession of sanguinary and ferocious princes, might well exclaim on the death of Robert: "We have lost a father who governed us in
" peace; beneath whose authority we dwelt in

M 3

" security;

“ security; who suffered not in others that oppression which he himself disdained; who commanded our affections, and who banished our fears.”

To the crown of Robert succeeded his eldest son Henry, who, at the age of twenty-seven, possessed with the vigour of youth the prudence and wisdom of age; yet these qualities
A. D. 1031. were scarce sufficient to secure his authority, and the implacable enmity of his mother shook his throne to the very foundation. At her imperious voice the flames of discord blazed with redoubled fury: Ambition prompted the count of Flanders, and interest induced the count of Champagne, to support the pretensions of Robert against the claim of his elder brother. To Eudes, the count of Champagne, was relinquished by the confederates half the city of Sens, as the price of his alliance; and that city, with Melun, Soissons, and the adjacent towns, were either reduced by force, or occupied by intrigue. Henry, astonished, and incapable of resisting the torrent, escaped with only twelve faithful followers into Normandy, and, deserted by his subjects, threw himself on the generous friendship of duke Robert. The liberal compassion of his protector justified his choice, and the treasures and forces of Normandy were devoted to his service: On one side, the
Normans,

Normans, commanded by the duke in person, spread destruction through the kingdom; and the country, which was blasted at his approach, fancied the surname of Devil, which the terrified inhabitants annexed to that of Robert: On the other side, the king himself thrice defeated the count of Champagne, who escaped with difficulty the pursuit of the victor. The tempest at length was hushed by the mediation of Fulk, count of Anjou; Constance sunk beneath the pangs of disappointed rage; prince Robert was gratified with the duchy of Burgundy; the submission of the counts of Flanders and Champagne was imitated by the rest of the vassals of the crown; but the gratitude of Henry dismembered the kingdom he had regained; and the services of the duke of Normandy were repaid by the duchies of Gisors, Chaumont, and Pontoise, and that part of the Vexin which had hitherto belonged to the dominions of France.

To the enterprises of war succeeded a negotiation of marriage; and Henry, peace-ably established on the throne, contracted himself to Matilda, the daughter of Conrad, who swayed the imperial sceptre with courage and prudence. Yet the historians more than doubt the consummation of these nuptials; and about ten years afterwards we find Henry espoused to

A. D.

1032, 1036.

M 4

Anne,

Anne, a daughter of Jerosolaus, great prince or duke of Ruffia, and who claimed her august descent from the dynasty of Basil, the Roman emperors of the East. The death of Rodolph, who, with the title of king ruled that part of Burgundy which comprehended the countries of Swisserland and Savoy, the counties of La Bresse, Dauphiné, and the Lyonnais, kindled a war between Eudes, count of Champagne, and the emperor Conrad, who each claimed the succession, and supported their pretensions by arms; but Eudes was compelled to yield to the superior force of his rival, and, driven out of Burgundy, entered Lorrain, and possessed himself of Bar. Before he could improve this advantage he was encountered by Gothelon, duke of Lorrain; the defeat of the count of Champagne was rendered decisive by his death; and king Henry and the emperor Conrad might mutually rejoice in the destruction of a turbulent vassal and an enterprising neighbour.

But although Eudes was no more, his spirit survived in his two sons, Thibaud, count of Beauffe, Touraine, and Beauvois; and Stephen, count of Champagne. These rejected
A. D. 1037. with disdain the servile duty of homage, and excited Eudes, the third and youngest brother of the king, and who had been left without territories

territories or establishment, to fortify their cause with his name. The forces of the confederates were routed by the royal army; Eudes himself was taken prisoner, and secured at Orleans; the pardon of Thibaud was purchased at the expence of Touraine; the count of Champagne was happy to escape by the cession of a considerable part of his territory; but Galeran, count of Meulan, who had joined the standard of unsuccessful rebellion, was formally attainted; and the forfeiture of his property and life, the first example of the kind mentioned in history, proclaims the power which the crown had imperceptibly acquired.

The fashionable superstition of the times had impressed the minds of men with the merit of pilgrimages to the Holy Land; the martial spirit and gallantry of the Nor-
A. D. 1037.
 mans were peculiarly inflamed with this adventurous species of devotion; and Robert, duke of Normandy, assuming the pious garb of a pilgrim, prepared to visit the sacred sepulchre of Jerusalem. His subjects had acknowledged as his heir his son William, whose regular pretensions were obstructed by the illegitimacy of his birth; and the young duke was recommended by his father to the gratitude of Henry, king of France, and to the care of Alain, duke of Brittany. But the nobles of Normandy disdained the feeble rule of an infant;
 and

and the helpless years of the future conqueror of England were insulted and contemned by his restless and turbulent barons. The duke of Brittany in vain endeavoured to restore the general tranquillity; his faint entreaties were disregarded; and a slow poison, (such is the account of the historians of that age) which hastened his retreat and gradually undermined his constitution, was the reward of his ineffectual mediation. The king of France was actuated by more politic but less honourable motives; with a numerous army he invaded the defenceless frontiers, consumed with fire the town of Argentan, and occupied the important fortress of Tillerés.

The public disorders were increased by the intelligence, that duke Robert, on his return from the Holy Land, had expired at Nice. The ministers who yet preserved their fidelity unshaken, and who watched over the tender years of duke William, determined to implore the protection of the king of France: They conjured him by the memory of his own distress to repay the obligations he had received from the father to the son. The suggestions of interest were vanquished or suspended by the emotions of shame or gratitude; and Henry declared his resolution of vindicating the insulted authority of the Norman prince; his friendship, though transient,

was

was ardent and effectual; he once more passed the frontiers, and at the valley of Dunes, between Caen and Argentan, encountered the revolted barons. The rebels maintained their ground with obstinate valour; the king himself was exposed to imminent danger, and, thrown from his horse in the violence of the charge, was only preserved by the immediate succour of his attendants: But his victory was glorious and decisive; and the battle of Dunes fixed the sceptre in the hands of the duke of Normandy.

The acquisitions of the Normans were not confined to their settlements in France; and under different leaders their arms penetrated into the fertile regions of Italy, established an independent sovereignty in Apulia, and soon afterwards embraced the kingdom of Naples, and reduced to their obedience the island of Sicily. Whether their progress in Apulia had alarmed the vigilant Henry, or that he early discerned the lofty genius and unbounded ambition of William, that monarch soon after violated the friendship he had newly professed, and seemed constantly to repent of the assistance he had afforded to the duke of Normandy. William de Arques, count of Thoulouse, and son by a second marriage of Richard the Second, who preceded, as duke of Normandy, Robert, surnamed the Devil, no longer concealed

concealed his pretensions to the ducal title: He was powerfully supported by his brother, Mauger, archbishop of Rouen; and privately at first, and afterwards publicly, by Henry of France. But this formidable confederacy, which was strengthened by the counts of Poitou and Anjou, was broken by the auspicious genius of William the Bastard. The army with which Henry had threatened to expel him from Normandy was compelled to retreat with disgrace; a considerable detachment, in the march towards Rouen, had incautiously pressed before the main body; between Escoucy and Mortimer, their negligence was chastised by the arms of the Normans; and few escaped to relate the melancholy fate of their companions: Henry himself with the remainder of his forces retired towards Paris, indignant at his disgrace, and impatient to efface his defeat by the destruction of his rival; while William, who had triumphed over his revolted subjects, was equally determined to pursue with eternal enmity the perfidy of the French monarch.

That prince had formed a new alliance with Martel, count of Anjou, and engaged again to invade the territories of the Norman; his preparations were suitable to the greatness of the enterprise; and two armies, which he had diligently levied, threatened the destruction

destruction of the young duke: The one was led by Henry in person; the other he entrusted to his brother Eudes, whom he had released for that purpose from prison. But the superior number of his troops served only to augment his confusion; those led by himself were continually harrassed, and repeatedly surpris'd; while the army commanded by his brother was defeated in a decisive action with cruel slaughter. Pressed or broken on every side, the French were compelled hastily to evacuate a country which they had unjustly invaded; and the terms of peace, which soon after followed, were dictated by the victorious duke of Normandy.

The age of the king, which scarce exceeded fifty-five years, allowed him to hope a long continuance of his reign; but his constitution was visibly impaired; his late defeat probably preyed upon his mind; and sensible of his approaching dissolution he determined to provide for the tranquillity of the kingdom by the association of the heir to the throne. Of his three sons by Anne, the grand-daughter of Wolodomir, great duke of Russia, Philip, the eldest, then only about seven years of age, was solemnly crowned at Rheims by the archbishop of that city. His tender youth did not exempt him from reading and subscribing a declaration, in which he promises, “ in the pre-
“ sence

“ fence of God and the saints,” to respect and defend the clergy in their privileges and immunities; to observe the laws and to administer justice; and equitably to rule the people entrusted to his government. But anxious for the future welfare of his son, the precaution of Henry, named Baldwin, count of Flanders, as the guardian of his infancy, in case he himself should not be indulged with the satisfaction of beholding him attain the vigour of manhood. His fears were just; in the August following the coronation of Philip, Henry breathed his last, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. His own indiscretion, perhaps, hastened his end; and the injudicious use of medicine is supposed to have accelerated the progress of disease; but the imputation of poison could only exist in a credulous age, invariably desirous of ascribing the death of every sovereign to the effects of secret fraud or open violence.

Prudent in peace, and intrepid in war, the character of this monarch is chiefly stained by his ungenerous attempt against the feeble youth of the duke of Normandy; and the injustice of the enterprise did not serve to reconcile him to the mortification of defeat; yet the firmness with which he resisted the encroaching spirit of the pope has merited the praise of the historian, and ought

ought to have been imitated by his successors. Leo the Ninth had entered France, and in a council held at Rheims had degraded several bishops contrary to the inclinations of the king; pope Nicholas the Second was desirous of treading in the footsteps of his predecessor; but he in vain solicited the consent of Henry to a similar visit, who steadfastly declined the proffered honour; and the Roman pontiff, after a fruitless negotiation, was compelled to relinquish the impracticable design.

Chapter the Sixth.

BALDWIN, COUNT OF FLANDERS, IS APPOINTED REGENT OF FRANCE. — CONQUEST OF ENGLAND BY WILLIAM, DUKE OF NORMANDY. — REIGN OF PHILIP. — ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST CRUSADE. — DEATH OF PHILIP, AND ACCESSION OF LEWIS THE SIXTH, SURNAMED THE GROSS. — HIS REIGN AND DEATH.

ON the decease of Henry, the regency of the state and the protection of his infant son might naturally have been expected by the widow and brother of the late monarch; Anne, indeed, might have asserted her indefeasible right over her child; nor were there examples wanting, in which the reins of administration had, during a minority, been committed to the hands of a female; but Henry had considered that princess was a stranger, and that she was ill qualified to control the impatient spirits of a haughty nobility with whom she was but little acquainted. Anne, in silence, acquiesced in his decision, and bestowed her hand on Raoul, count of Valois, after whose death she retired to her native climate of Russia.

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If Henry prudently deemed his confort unequal to the toils of government, it was with a different eye he regarded his brother, Robert, duke of Burgundy. The abilities of that prince were acknowledged and dreaded; his power was already formidable; his influence with the nobles of France considerable; he had once already aspired to the crown; and it was to be feared, if placed so near, his ambition might be revived, and his hand again stretched forth to seize it. But Baldwin, count of Flanders, was free from every objection, and possessed every quality which could recommend him to this important trust; his valour was tempered by caution, his vigilance was joined with a noble frankness: The guardian of the crown, and the friend of the people, he protected the prerogative of the first without infringing the rights of the last; without endeavouring to oppress the nobles he restrained them in due subjection, and maintained peace by his preparations for war. The people of Aquitain had presumed on the youth of their sovereign; they were chastised by the arm of Baldwin; and the anxious guardian, amidst the complicated cares of government, neglected not to bestow upon his royal pupil such an education as might contribute to his own happiness, and that of the people over whom he was destined to reign.

Yet the administration of Baldwin has not entirely escaped censure; and it has been imputed to him as an inexcusable error, that he suffered so dangerous a neighbour as the duke of Normandy to extend the limits of his dominions, and to achieve the important conquest of England. Perhaps he was influenced by a natural regard for a prince who had married his daughter; perhaps he dreaded his enterprising spirit, and was willing to secure the immediate tranquillity of the country he ruled, by diverting the stream of conquest another way. Whatever were his motives, the consequences were fatal; and the splendid acquisition was attended with a series of bloody and destructive wars, which always contributed to exhaust, and frequently threatened to subvert the monarchy of France.

It is the observation of the celebrated historian of the reign of the emperor Charles the Fifth, "that whoever records the transactions of the more considerable European states during the two last centuries, must write the history of Europe." The remark, which does honour to his judgement, may, in regard to France and England, be extended to a more early period; and from the union of the latter kingdom with Normandy, the wars and negotiations of the French and English have been indissolubly blended, and
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form one great and complicated system of politics. So intimate a connection not only justifies, but demands an hasty sketch of the circumstances which illustrate the memorable event.

The Roman government was scarce dissolved in Britain before the island was suddenly and successively afflicted by the sword of the Scots and the Picts, the Danes and the Saxons: The conquests of the latter were permanent; and seven independent thrones, the Saxon heptarchy, were founded by the victors. These, in the course of little more than three revolving centuries, were united under Egbert; and the sceptre, when first aspired to by William, was feebly and irresolutely swayed by Edward the Third, surnamed the Confessor. The partiality of that monarch for the Norman might countenance the report that he had bequeathed to him his throne. The mother of Edward was Emma, the sister of Richard of Normandy; and when the British prince was compelled to fly before the sword of the Danes, he found a safe and hospitable retreat in the Norman court. The ties of blood and gratitude attached him to his kinsman and protector; and it is probable that he would readily have preferred him to an ambitious subject, whose father was stained with the royal blood of his brother, and whose own popularity was hateful in the eyes of the

king. But when Edward breathed his last, William was distant in Normandy, and the vacant throne was occupied by Harold, the son of earl Goodwin.

The impatient spirit of William scorned to dissemble his sense of the injury, and his ambition permitted him not to relinquish his lofty hopes. In a formal embassy he demanded the sceptre which Harold had seized; and the refusal was attended with a denunciation of war. A powerful armament was equipped in the ports of Normandy; and while Harold was engaged in the North in repelling the invasion of Harfager, king of Norway, William sailed from St. Valery, and landed at Pevensey on the coast of
A. D. 1066. Suffex. From a glorious victory over Harfager, Harold was recalled to encounter this more formidable rival. The fatal battle was fought on the fourteenth of October, about seven miles from Hastings; and the native valour of the English was unequally opposed to the discipline and artful evolutions of the Normans. A random arrow pierced the brain of Harold; and the remnant of the English army, after the death of their gallant leader, was only preserved from the pursuit of the Normans by the friendly darkness of the night. The fall of Harold established the victory and fortune of William; and the sceptre

tre of Britain, which for six hundred years had been successively swayed by a Saxon, was in one decisive day transferred to the hand of a Norman.

The death of Baldwin, count of Flanders, soon succeeded the invasion and conquest of England; and in the fifteenth year of ^{A. D. 1067.} his age his royal pupil assumed the peaceable administration of his dominions. The able ministers who had been promoted by the penetration of Baldwin, were no longer suffered to guide the councils of Philip; and the beginning of his various reign was equally characterized by activity, as the conclusion of it was by indolence. The territories of Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou, were disputed by his two sons, Geoffrey and Fulk; and the incautious integrity of the former was ensnared by the perfidious artifices of the latter: Yet, although Fulk was at first menaced with the resentment of the king of France, the emotions of justice were soon sacrificed to the suggestions of interest; the anger of Philip was disarmed by a share in the spoils; and on the cession of the Gastinois, the younger brother was permitted to retain in peace the inheritance of which he had fraudulently deprived his elder.

The care of Baldwin had imbued the mind of Philip with every royal science, and the masters he had provided and fitted his body for the

martial exercises of a warlike age; but the heart had resisted the admonitions of the virtuous tutor; and as Philip advanced in years, his subjects discerned, with a capacity which might have ensured their happiness, a disposition which menaced them with the incessant calamities of war. The love of glory, the vice of great minds, never found entrance into the bosom of Philip; but throughout his reign he displayed in every enterprise the invariable features of treachery with the propensity of insatiate avarice. He had deserted, not much to his reputation, the cause of Geoffrey, to partake the crime and plunder of Fulk; but in a dispute respecting the succession to the territory of the late regent, he stained his character with the meanest perfidy and the blackest ingratitude. Baldwin and Robert were the two sons of Baldwin; the former and elder inherited from him his dignity with the principality of Flanders; the latter and younger, the title with the country of Frize: But Baldwin, discontented with his own share, beheld with envy the domain of his brother. With a numerous army he invaded the province of Robert, and his own death in battle was the consequence of the unnatural enterprise: The victor seized on Flanders, and the widow of the deceased count, with her two sons, Arnold and Baldwin, sought shelter from the tempest in the court of Philip.

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She was received by that monarch with every mark of respect, and with every profession of regard. To restore her sons, with a numerous army he entered Flanders; but in a decisive battle near St. Omers the French were defeated, and the young count, Arnold, perished in the action. This check cooled the ardour of Philip, and he from that moment abandoned the cause of the widow and the orphan. Their distress induced them to apply to Henry the Third of Germany, and his compassion assured them of his protection, and induced him to arm in their support. Hope once more smiled upon the youthful Baldwin; but the prospect was soon darkened by the intrigues of Philip. He had engaged to marry Bertha, the daughter of the countess of Frize, by a former husband, and to maintain her present in the possession of the dominions he had usurped. The feeble efforts of Baldwin were overwhelmed by the united force of the confederates; he was compelled to acquiesce in the district, with the title of count of Hainault, and to leave his uncle in the peaceable enjoyment of Flanders.

With equal success Philip encountered the arms of William, who had exchanged, by the acquisition of England, the opprobrious distinction of Bastard for the honourable surname of Conqueror. With an army of his

A.D. 1075.

new subjects, that prince had traversed the sea to reduce Hoel, duke of Brittany, who had refused to yield him homage. But the first place that he besieged was witness of his disgrace; and with the loss of his baggage the king of England was obliged to retire before the fortune of his royal rival. The conditions of peace were dictated by Philip; and his mind, naturally presumptuous, was inflated by the advantage he obtained. Robert, the eldest son of the conqueror, had violated the duty he owed to his parent and sovereign, and erected the standard of revolt in Normandy. He was privately encouraged by Philip, who bestowed on him the town of Gerberoi, in the Beauvoisins; in that place he was invested by William. In a sally from the town Robert displayed the hereditary valour of his race; his lance transfixed the thickest ranks of the besiegers, and unhorsed William himself. The king of England would have perished by the hand of his son, had not his voice revealed his person and danger: The astonished Robert, struck with horror at the crime which impended over him, raised the fallen monarch from the ground, and mounted him on his own horse. The pardon of his father was the reward of his gallantry and penitence; and Philip affected to rejoice at a reconciliation which it was no longer in his power to prevent.

For some years the animosity of the monarchs was happily for their subjects suspended. It was again kindled by a jest of Philip: The corpulency of the king of England, who was indisposed, provoked the observation, "Although William is so long lying-in, I doubt, when he comes abroad he will be as big as ever." The retort of the Norman was an allusion to the custom of carrying lights when women are churched: "It will not be long before I go abroad; and let Philip know, that so many lights shall be carried at my churching as shall enlighten all France, and make him repent of his jest." The menace was rigorously fulfilled soon after; William landed in France with a formidable army, possessed himself by assault of the town of Mantes, and delivered it to the flames; but as the victor endeavoured to retire from the heat of the fire, his horse, in leaping over a ditch, threw him on the pummel of the saddle; the contusion proved mortal, and William the Conqueror in a short time after expired at Rouen. A. D. 1087.

The death of that prince delivered Philip from a formidable enemy, and the dominions of the deceased monarch were contested by his three sons. Of these, the second, William, surnamed Rufus, by the dying breath of his father was recommended to the throne of England; but for the possession

sion of it he was probably more indebted to the attachment of Eudes, the minister of the late king, who delivered into his hands the royal treasures, than to the favourable opinion of a sovereign who never had acquired the affections of his subjects. Robert, the eldest, succeeded to Normandy and Maine; and to Henry was only bequeathed a sum of money. Yet Rufus, not content with the crown he had ravished from the expectations of Robert, invaded soon after the duchy of Normandy: The latter was faintly supported by Philip of France; and by the cession of Eu, Fescamp, and Cherbourg, purchased a disadvantageous peace, which permitted him to retain the scanty remnant of his dominions.

The interest of Philip had suggested to him a marriage with the daughter of the countess of Flanders; but two sons and a daughter, the issue of those nuptials, could not restrain the fickle monarch from divorcing Bertha from his side: A distant and doubtful degree of consanguinity afforded the pretence; and the unhappy princess, banished to Montreuil, expired of a broken heart. The king of France demanded next in marriage Emma, the daughter of count Roger, the brother of the duke of Calabria: The lady, richly adorned with jewels and liberally portioned,

tioned, was escorted to the French court; nor is it without a blush the historian records that Emma was dismissed, and her fortune retained. The passions of Philip had been inflamed by Bertrade de Montfort, the wife of Fulk of Anjou, who with the assistance of the king had supplanted his elder brother Geoffrey: The vanity of a licentious woman was gratified by the addresses of a royal lover; and the countess hesitated not to forsake the bed of an aged and morose husband, and to follow her paramour to Orleans. The ascendancy she obtained over the affections of Philip was displayed in his subsequent conduct; he determined to solemnize a marriage which was doomed invariably to embitter his future days. The ceremony was performed by Eudes, bishop of Bayeaux, in the presence of the bishop of Senlis and the archbishop of Rouen. But so flagrant a violation of every moral and civil tie, could not escape the censure of pope Urban the Second. In a council held at Autun, a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the king unless he parted with Bertrade: His ready promise of submission averted, or rather suspended, the thunders of the vatican; his perseverance in his criminal enjoyments once more aroused them; and in a second council, assembled at Clermont, with the acquiescence of the clergy of France,

Philip

Philip was again subjected to the penalties of excommunication.

It was in this council that Urban first preached the sacred service of the crusades, and
A.D. 1095. awakened the martial nations of Europe to the deliverance of the Holy Land. His audience had already been prepared by the enthusiastic eloquence of Peter the Hermit, and the contagious zeal spread through persons of all ranks and all denominations. To use the words of the princess Anna Comnena, all Europe torn up from the foundation seemed ready to precipitate itself in one united body on Asia. The vehement exhortations of the Roman pontiff were interrupted by the shouts of thousands, who with one voice, and in their rustic idiom, exclaimed aloud, "God wills it, "God wills it." "It is indeed the will of God," replied the pope, "and let this memorable word, "the inspiration surely of the holy spirit, be for "ever adopted as your cry in battle, to animate "the devotion and courage of the champions of "Christ; his cross is the symbol of your salvation; wear it, a red, a bloody cross, as an "external mark, on your breasts or shoulders, as "a pledge of your sacred and irrevocable engagement." The proposal was joyfully accepted; great numbers, both of the clergy and the laity, impressed on their garments the sign of
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the cross, and solicited the pope to march at their head. This dangerous honour was declined by the prudent successor of St. Peter, who alledged the duties of his pastoral office; recommending to the faithful, who were disqualified by sex or profession, by age or infirmity, to aid with their prayers and alms the personal service of their robust brethren. After the confession and absolution of their sins, the champions of the cross were dismissed with a superfluous admonition to invite their countrymen and friends; and their departure to the Holy Land was fixed for the festival of the Assumption, the fifteenth of August of the ensuing year.

That day was anticipated by a thoughtless crowd of plebeians, who, to the number of ^{A.D. 1096.} above sixty thousand of both sexes, pressed with clamorous importunity Peter the Hermit to lead them to the holy sepulchre. The Hermit, assuming the character without the talents or authority of a general, impelled or obeyed the forward impulse of his votaries along the banks of the Danube and the Rhine. The footsteps of Peter were followed by the monk Godescal, whose sermons had swept away fifteen or twenty thousand peasants from the villages of Germany. The rear was closed with two hundred thousand of the refuse of the people, who mingled with their devotion a brutal licence of rapine, prostitution,

tution, and drunkenness. Of this motley crew, the greater part sunk beneath the fatigues of their march, and the accumulated pressure of hunger and thirst; the remainder, who had endured and surmounted the difficulties and distress of their long and tedious pilgrimage, had scarce refreshed their wasted bodies with the hospitable plenty of Constantinople, before their impatience urged them headlong against the Turks: Their imprudence betrayed them into the snares of the sultan of Nice; and Peter the Hermit, securely sheltered in the Byzantine court, might lament the fate of his improvident companions, and expect the arrival of their more grave and noble brethren.

Among these, the first rank, both in war and council, was justly due to Godfrey of Bouillon, who in the hour of victory was elevated to the transient throne of Jerusalem. With him were joined in the holy enterprise, Hugh, count of Vermandois, the brother of the king of France; and Robert, duke of Normandy, whose intrepid spirit and fickle disposition, equally prompted him to embrace an expedition endeared by the prospect of danger and novelty. For the trifling sum of ten thousand marks he mortgaged Normandy during his absence to Rufus, who had already defrauded him of the crown of England; and the inconsiderable pittance which he had raised at the expence

expenditure of the scanty remnant of his father's ample territory, was freely dedicated to the service in which he embarked. But the devout example and holy zeal of their brothers, could not kindle this flame in the worldly and licentious bosoms of William and Philip: The former was diligently engaged in extending the terror of his arms, and the limits of his dominions, by successive expeditions in Scotland, Wales, and the county of Maine; the latter assiduously laboured with Bertrade in the pursuit of pleasure. But their hours of dalliance were frequently interrupted by the awful voice of the successor of St. Peter; and the admonitions of the Roman pontiff were followed by the tremendous thunder of papal indignation. His lawless commerce with the countess of Anjou demanded the chastisement of the spiritual father; and the penalties of excommunication were a third time denounced against Philip. The profligacy of the monarch seldom fails to pollute the minds of his people; and the powerful vassals of the crown were eager to imitate the amorous conduct of their sovereign, while they insulted his dignity and contemned his authority.

The difficulties which embarrassed the indolent and infatuated king, were in part diffused by the death of Bertha his queen,

A. D.
1096, 1100.

and by the acquiescence of the count of Anjou.

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Yet Fulk reluctantly consented to exchange an abandoned woman for the treasures of royalty; and the ascendancy which Bertrade maintained to the last over the surly mind of that haughty chief, may in some measure impress us with an idea of her charms, and account for her influence over the amorous soul of Philip. A partial absolution was by flattery and presents tardily obtained from the pope; and the eternal separation from Bertrade was constantly stipulated, and as constantly eluded.

While Philip reposed in the arms of beauty, his kingdom was doomed by her miseries to atone for the vices of the sovereign. The Barons once more affected the tone of independence, and their private quarrels were frequently decided in a field of battle; on each side the indignant chiefs collected their partizans, and maintained their exclusive jurisdiction within their respective territories: The scenes of anarchy and civil commotion from which France had been rescued by the prudence of Hugh Capet and his successors, were again presented in every province. But the dignity of the crown, which had been degraded by the follies of the father, was restored by the virtues of the son; the distress of Philip compelled him to associate to the throne, Lewis, the eldest issue of his marriage with Bertha: At the

the early age of twenty years the prince displayed a degree of prudence which is seldom attained, even by the experience of mature wisdom; affable, vigilant, and active, he commanded the respect of his people as much by his private qualities as by his public measures. With a small but well-disciplined body of troops he continually kept the field, and over-awed the nobles who had disdained the authority of his father. He razed their castles, redressed the injuries of their dependants, and compelled them to relinquish the lands which they had ravished from the church. The banks of the Seine and the Loire alternately attested his indefatigable promptitude; and the presumption of a haughty nobility was repressed and chastised by a cautious, yet enterprising prince. Early affianced to the daughter of Guy, the count of Rochefort, that marriage was opposed, and declared null by the Roman pontiff, Pascal the Second. The father repented the facility with which Lewis acquiesced in the determination of the pope; and encouraged by Thibaud, count of Champagne, erected the standard of revolt, plundered the defenceless traders of the country, and secured his spoils in the castle of Gournai.

But Lewis was not to be insulted with impunity; with the troops which he could most readily assemble, he advanced to-

A. D.

1103, 1104.

wards Gournai, passed the river at the head of his cavalry in person, and invested the hostile castle. The confederates determined to risk a battle for the preservation of the fortress; and the counts of Rochefort and Champagne, at the head of their numerous friends, pressed towards the Maine. Lewis having secured his camp against the sallies of the besiegers, hesitated not to encounter the superior numbers of his adversaries. His confidence in his own valour, and that of his soldiers, was confirmed by a signal victory: The formidable confederacy was instantly dissolved; and Gournai, which had surrendered to the prince, was transferred by the victor to a different family.

However the abilities of Lewis might contribute to his own glory, and to the relief of his father, they subjected him to the hatred and persecution of Bertrade; his genius and fortune obstructed the royal hopes of her own sons, whom she still flattered herself might, if that prince was removed, succeed to the throne. The easy king was persuaded to gratify a mistress whom he loved, at the expence of a son whom he must have esteemed; and to avoid the dangerous enmity of his mother-in-law, Lewis obtained permission to visit England. He was received by Henry (who on the death of his brother William

Rufus

Rufus had possessed himself of the sovereignty of that island, to the exclusion of William of Normandy) with every mark of respect: Even here, if we can credit the testimony of concurring historians, the unabated malice of Bertrade pursued him; and by a letter subscribed with the name of Philip, the king of England was requested to retain his guest in confinement, or extinguish the dread of his return by death. The virtue of Henry spurned at a proposal, which insulted his own honour; his horror of the crime was displayed in his tender regard of Lewis; to that prince he delivered the letter which contained the fatal secret. In vain did the injured Lewis demand on his return that justice to which he was so eminently entitled, both from a father and a sovereign: These duties were overwhelmed by the fatal passion for Bertrade; and the king was content with disowning the signature, without endeavouring to discover or to punish the authors of the imposture.

But the rage of a disappointed woman was not to be checked by shame, or controlled
 by the dread of punishment: Her
 former attempt sufficiently evinced how equal she was to the commission of the most glaring crime; and she confided in the partiality of the king to screen her from the sword of justice, or the resent-

ment of the people: A faithful servant of her guilt administered to her passions by the effects of poison; the baneful potion was swallowed by Lewis, and the strength of his constitution for a long time seemed overpowered by the violence of the noxious draught. The arts of medicine were exhausted in vain, and the ablest physicians despaired of his life; he was saved by the skill of a stranger: But these re-iterated instances of implacable aversion had at last triumphed over his patience, and he prepared to defend that life by arms, which he had in vain endeavoured to secure by submission and by exile. Bertrade would probably have fallen a victim to the just vengeance of the injured hero, had she not averted the danger by the same arts as she had acquired her dominion over Philip, and maintained her ascendancy over the count of Anjou. Lewis was not insensible to the tears of repenting beauty; he consented to pardon; and Bertrade ever afterwards affected to declare, with how much sincerity it is not for us to decide, That he, and he alone, deserved to inherit the kingdom which he had preserved.

Philip survived not long to enjoy the tranquillity established by this event; in the forty-seventh year of his reign, and the fifty-fifth of his age, he expired at Melun, despised by his subjects,

and regretted, perhaps, only by Bertrade. Yet his character, though deficient in A. D. 1108. virtue, was not destitute of endearing qualities; courteous, generous, and compassionate, those who had immediate access to his person, forgot in the manners of the man the vices of the king. By Bertha, whose peace he ruined and whose heart he broke, Lewis his successor was his only remaining son: Henry died young; and a daughter, named Constantia, was first married to Hugh, count of Troyes, and afterwards to Bohemond, prince of Antioch. His children by the celebrated Bertrade were, Philip, count of Mante, whose estates were confiscated for rebellion, and who died without issue; Florence, who left only a daughter; and Cecilia, who was twice married, first to Tancred, prince of Antioch, and next to Pons de Toulouse, count of Tripoli.

Lewis the Sixth, who, from his corpulency in the latter part of his life, was distinguished by the surname of Gros, A. D. 1109, 1113. immediately on the death of his father assumed the reins of government. A schism that prevailed in the church of Rheims, induced the king to fix his coronation at Orleans, and to receive his crown from the bishop of that city. But more effectual measures than an empty ceremony were necessary to establish his authority; and the nobles seized the opportunity of a new reign, to assert again

their pretensions: These were once more humbled in a field of battle; and the impartial spirit of justice which the monarch displayed, gradually reconciled his subjects to his sway. Yet, with the lofty title of king of France, his domain scarce equalled that of the duke of Burgundy; and the territory which more immediately owned him as sovereign, was confined to Paris, Orleans, Etampes, Compeigne, Melun, Bourges, and a few other places too inconsiderable to be named.

The disaffected barons had been privately supported by Henry of England, whose
A. D. 1113, 1114. compassion for the prince was lost in his jealousy of the king. But no sooner had Lewis triumphed over the mal-contents than he directed his attention towards Normandy; Gisors on the Epte was the object of contention between the two kings. Lewis demanded that the fortifications should be razed, which Henry, without refusing, continually eluded. Their discontents at length broke out in open hostilities, and the monarchs, in person, opposed each other in the field. Before the armies joined, Lewis in vain proposed an accommodation; and his proposal to decide the dispute by single combat, was equally rejected by Henry, who answered with a smile, "that if victorious, he could but keep a place which he already possessed, without fighting; and that
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“ the king of France hazarded his life indeed to
“ attain an important acquisition, while his own
“ would be staked against nothing.” In the event
of the day, Henry might frequently repent of a re-
ply more prudent than gallant ; and the forces of
Normandy were compelled to fly before those of
France. Yet the victor and the vanquished alike
inclined to peace ; and the homage of William,
the only son of Henry, was accepted by Lewis
for the duchy of Normandy, in the place of that
of his father, who constantly refused to prostitute
the dignity of his crown by the servile ceremony.

The nobles of France had supported Lewis
in his war with Henry, of whose possessions in
Normandy they were equally jealous. The con-
clusion of peace was the signal again of revolt ;
and the life of the king in successive battles, was
exposed with various success. The cause of the
count of Champagne was embraced by the king
of England ; and the count of Anjou, the son of
Fulk and Bertrade, renounced his homage to
Henry, and joined the standard of France : But
the French, in a decisive battle, were doomed to
experience the reverse of fortune. The victori-
ous Normans were commanded by the count of
Blois ; and the count of Flanders, gallantly fight-
ing in the cause of his sovereign, was thrown
from his horse and trampled to death. Yet the
disputes

disputes of the two monarchs were again adjusted at Gisors; but the terms were prescribed by Henry, and were submitted to with reluctance by Lewis; who beheld his confederates, the count of Anjou, and the count of Brittany, yield homage to the conqueror for their respective countries of Maine and Brittany. The influence of Henry was further augmented by the marriage of one of his daughters to Conan, the son of the duke of Brittany; his other daughter was already married to Henry the Fifth, of Germany; and his son William now espoused the daughter and heiress of the count of Anjou.

The king of France, equally desirous of extending his connections and providing
A.D. 1115, 1119. for the succession of the crown, demanded and obtained the hand of Adelaide, the daughter of the count of Savoy. The amiable qualities of that princess endeared her to the nobility, and her good sense and discretion contributed to smooth the rugged paths which Lewis, throughout his reign, was condemned to tread. The success of Henry still rankled in the bosom of that monarch, and he impatiently waited a favourable opportunity to retrieve his glory, and re-establish his authority. With pleasure he listened to the suppliant voice of a young prince, who, having in vain attempted to arouse the compassion of other monarchs, sought shelter
and

and support in the court of France. This prince was William, the son of Robert of Normandy, and grandson of the conqueror; whose filial piety implored the humanity of Lewis to procure the liberty of his father, a prisoner to his brother Henry. The king of France hesitated not long in granting a request, recommended by the powerful motives of pity and interest. He advised William to engage the inclinations of the nobles of Normandy, and particularly to attach to his cause the counts of Flanders and Anjou. The negociations of the young prince were successful; and Lewis, apprized of the sentiments and preparations of the confederates, demanded of the king of England the liberty of his brother Robert. A peremptory refusal was the signal of revolt to the Norman chieftains; the indignant people hastened to proclaim William their duke, and crowded to his standard; the counts of Flanders and Anjou advanced with a formidable army to the gates of Rouen; and the mind of Henry, astonished at the defection of Normandy, was surprized and embarrassed by the dread of domestic conspiracy.

Yet amidst the dangers which on every side presented themselves, amidst secret disaffection and open rebellion, the intrigues of his own subjects, and the invasion of his foreign enemies, the
king

king of England displayed that fortitude which ever distinguished his character. Instead of condescending to solicit an ignominious peace, he disputed every inch of the ground with unabated vigour; his arms were seconded by his intrigues; by a liberal distribution of his treasures, he detached the count of Anjou from the party of the confederates; in a bloody action, the count of Flanders shared the fate of his father, and mortally wounded in the face, soon after expired. Alain, duke of Brittany, rushed to the assistance of the king of England; and the youthful William had the double mortification of beholding his enemies increased, and his friends diminished. The forces of France were still entire, and Lewis was not inclined readily to abandon an enterprise, in which his honour and his interest were so deeply engaged. As he advanced, in hopes of surprising Nojon, he himself was unexpectedly encountered by the English army, in the plains of Brenneville; his van-guard, commanded by William, astonished yet undaunted, and animated by the spirit of the gallant youth who led them, charged with resistless fury; the English troops who opposed them, were broken by their impetuous valour; for a moment, Henry despaired of his crown and life; struck to the ground by the arm of a Norman warrior, he yet rose with redoubled

redoubled strength; and levelled at his feet his daring adversary. His persevering courage restored order to his troops, and encreased the confusion of his enemies, already scattered by the hunger of spoil, and by the rash impatience of their king. The fortune of the day was changed by the indiscretion of the leader and the avarice of his followers; and Lewis was glad to exchange his proud hopes of victory for the security of flight: On foot he escaped with difficulty to the friendly and neighbouring walls of Andeli; and relinquished to his rival the glory of a field, of which he had been defrauded by his own rashness.

The French army had united under
the walls of Andeli; but the strength A.D. 1120.
of the confederates was impaired by the defection of the count of Anjou and the death of the count of Flanders. The proffered mediation of the Roman pontiff was gladly accepted; and Henry, after gloriously concluding a war which threatened to subvert his throne, dictated the terms of peace, and repassed the seas, to repose after his fatigues, and display his triumph in England. But the exultation of victory was soon overwhelmed by a calamity, as severe as it was unexpected. He had left behind him his son William, the heir of his crown and virtues, to receive the

the homage of the Norman nobles. The vessel in which the young prince embarked to rejoin his father, was, through the negligence of the pilot, wrecked near Barfleur, on the coast of Normandy; and William, with Richard, a natural son of Henry, and a train of gallant nobles, fatally perished. In the midst of public distress, Henry had displayed the undaunted resolution which became a hero and a king: In this private and irreparable loss, the feelings of a father were equally conspicuous; and from the moment that he received the fatal intelligence, his countenance invariably acknowledged the settled sorrow which oppressed his soul.

The hopes of William of Normandy
1120, 1123. were revived by the fate of the son of Henry; and the nobility of that country were ready to receive with open arms, a prince whom they now considered as the last representative of their ancient dukes. The treasures of France were by the policy of Lewis, devoted to his service; and the count of Anjou bestowed on him his second daughter Sybilla, with the county of Maine: His eldest had proved barren in the embraces of the English prince; and the premature death of her consort, dissolved the alliance which Fulk had contracted with the king of England. That monarch was awakened from the lethargy of grief
by

by the tremendous sound of war; and the powerful confederates were soon admonished by the negociations of a statesman and the enterprising spirit of a warrior, that affliction had not enfeebled his mind, or cooled his ardour. He had raised to the throne of England, as his second wife, the niece of pope Callixtus the Second: The Roman pontiff, under the pretence of consanguinity, declared void the marriage between William and Sybilla; and that unfortunate prince was compelled to abandon, with his wife, the province of Maine. His expectation in Normandy proved equally fallacious; the conspirators, before they could assemble their adherents, were surprised by the arrival, and reduced by the activity of Henry, whose voice excited the emperor of Germany to arms, and menaced France with the terrors of foreign invasion.

In the tempest which threatened to overturn his throne, the internal resources of Lewis were displayed. The vassals A. D. 1124. of the crown crowded to his standard; and the celebrated *Oriflame*, the banner of St. Denys, was first unfurled on this memorable occasion. The German emperor was compelled to retire before an army of two hundred thousand men, confident in their numbers and zealous in the service of their country; but when Lewis would have led this

this formidable host to encounter the king of England, and to establish the son of Robert in the duchy of Normandy, his flattering hopes of conquest were dissipated by the answer of the jealous barons. They prudently distinguished between the cause of the kingdom and the king; and declared they would not contribute to oppress the king of England, whose possession of Normandy they regarded as necessary to the maintenance of their own security. The death of the emperor of Germany on the part of Henry, the invincible aversion of his nobles, suspicious of his intentions, on the side of Lewis, disposed the two monarchs mutually to a peace, which they nominally kept, and constantly violated, in the cause of their vassals and allies.

Charles of Denmark had succeeded his cousin

A.D. Baldwin, who perished in an action
1124, 1128. with the Bretons before Eu, in the principality of Flanders. Charles fell a victim to the discontents of his subjects, and was himself assassinated at Bruges. The vacant country was claimed by Baldwin, earl of Mons; and Thierri, count of Alsace: The king of France was determined to bestow it on the son of Robert of Normandy; and the king of England prepared to support the pretensions of the count of Alsace. To secure the neutrality of the count of Anjou, he

he married his daughter Maude, the widow of Henry the Fifth, of Germany, to Geoffrey Plantagenet, the son of that nobleman, and persuaded the count himself to embark for the Holy Land, to receive the crown of Jerusalem. Thus secure from any interruption on that side, he excited the earl of Champagne to arm in the cause of Thierri: The rival princes encountered each other near Alort; the valour of the Norman triumphed over his adversary; but even in the moment of victory his adverse genius prevailed. In the action he was wounded in the hand; a mortification terminated a life invariably unfortunate; and the death of William was attended with the submission of Flanders, which consented to acknowledge the authority of the count of Alsace.

The domestic misfortunes of Henry had embittered the happiness of his life; and Lewis, in his turn, was also doomed to
A.D. 1129.
taste of the cup of affliction. He had scarce associated his eldest son Philip to the throne, before he was summoned to weep over his tomb: A fall from his horse proved fatal to the young prince; and the favourable expectations of a future reign, which had been raised by his early virtues, were blasted by his premature death. The loss of Philip was followed by the coronation of Lewis, who at the age of twelve years received the crown
from

from the hands of pope Innocent the Secend. The sudden manner in which this ceremony was performed, is accounted for by the cabals of the nobles, impatient of the king's rigorous administration and rigid virtue, and even desirous of transferring the sceptre to another family.

Yet the benefits resulting from an inflexible adherence to justice, and an invariable
 A. D. 1130, 1137. zeal for the laws, could not fail at length to reconcile his subjects to the austere integrity of their sovereign. The great vassals of the crown, convinced that the views of Lewis were honourable, were induced to place that confidence in him which they had hitherto withheld from his predecessors; even Thibaud, count of Champagne, relinquished his connections with Henry, and attached himself to the king of France with a fidelity which nothing could shake. In the enjoyment of that tranquillity which he had so long desired and so lately attained, the health of Lewis visibly declined, and his life was threatened by the excessive corpulency from which he had derived the surname of Gros. In hourly expectation of his dissolution, he drew his ring from his finger, and as he delivered it to his son, conjured him to recollect, that the sovereign power with which it invested him, was a public trust devolved on him by Providence; and for the exercise of which, he
 must

must be accountable in a future state. Some favourable symptoms of returning health were received by the universal acclamations of the people; and before his death he had the satisfaction of beholding his son united to Eleanor, the daughter and heiress of the duke of Guienne and Aquitaine. The marriage was celebrated at Bourdeaux, and the young princess was solemnly crowned queen of France. But the king himself had scarce time to embrace his daughter-in-law, before he sunk beneath the pressure of disease, and expired at Paris, in the thirtieth year of his reign and the sixtieth year of his age. His character has been described in a few words, more favourable to his private than his public qualities: He might have made a better king, he could not prove a better man.

Chapter the Seventh.

ACCESSION OF LEWIS THE SEVENTH, SURNAMED THE YOUNG.—CHARACTERS OF HIS MINISTERS, ST. BERNARD AND SUGER.—AT THE INSTIGATION OF THE FORMER, HE ASSUMES THE CROSS, AND MARCHES TO THE RELIEF OF THE HOLY LAND.—HIS DEFEAT AND RETURN.—HE DIVORCES HIS WIFE ELEANOR.—HIS WARS WITH HENRY THE SECOND, KING OF ENGLAND.—CHARACTER AND DEATH OF THOMAS BECKETT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—DEATH OF LEWIS THE SEVENTH.

A. D. **L**EWIS the Seventh, although at
 1137, 1139. the demise of his father but eighteen years old, and who retained the surname of *Young* even in the more mature period of age, assumed the reins of government. The affections of the nobility had been conciliated, or their arrogance humbled, by the address or arms of his predecessor; but the vigour and wisdom which had awed or influenced them were no more; and the accession of an inexperienced youth flattered their turbulent expectations

expectations with an æra of license and anarchy. To repress their excesses, the king retired to Orleans and prepared to assemble his forces; but even the Commons, who had invariably supported the authority of his father, opposed with seditious clamours his decrees, and were appeased with danger and difficulty. Amidst a scene of revolt and disaffection, the king remained firm and undaunted; and the discontented barons were rather intimidated by the fortitude he displayed, than reduced by the troops he had collected.

Whatever calamities menaced France from her internal dissensions, the delicate situation of affairs in England delivered her from the dread of an inveterate and formidable enemy. On the death of Henry the First, his vacant throne was occupied by Stephen, count of Boulogne, the brother of Thibaud, count of Champagne, and nephew of the deceased monarch. The English had preferred the martial spirit of a popular general to the unsteady counsels of a capricious woman, and the feeble name of an infant. Matilda, and her son Henry Plantagenet, the daughter and grandson of Henry the First, in vain urged their pretensions; they were compelled to yield to the headlong rage of the torrent, and to shelter themselves in Anjou.

Normandy, long united to England, submitted

A. D. 1140, 1144. to her influence, and acknowledged the authority of Stephen. His son Eustace, as the representative of his father, discharged in person the homage due to the crown of France, and received the hand of Constance, the sister of the king. But this alliance could not restrain the turbulent disposition of Thibaud, count of Champagne, and uncle of Eustace. The Chapter of Bourges had elected, without waiting the approbation of their sovereign, Pierre de le Chatre to the vacant archiepiscopal see. The indignant monarch, determined to vindicate his insulted authority, commanded the Chapter to proceed to a new election; but the clergy firmly maintained their choice. The Roman pontiff espoused the cause of Pierre de le Chatre; and he himself, protected by the count of Champagne, to whose court he had escaped, launched the thunders of ecclesiastical vengeance against that part of the royal domain which was comprised within the limits of his archbishoprick. The brand of discord was kindled by this hasty spark; and the flame was fed by another incident which equally displayed the dangerous and encroaching spirit of the court of Rome, nourished the arrogance of the count of Champagne, and provoked the resentment of the king of France.

Rodolph,

Rodolph, count of Vermandois, whose personal merit was rendered still more conspicuous by his illustrious birth, and who had successively presided over the councils of Lewis and his father, had divorced from his bed, on the common and convenient pretence of consanguinity, his wife, the near relation of the count of Champagne; and had espoused Petronilla, the daughter of the late duke of Aquitain, and the younger sister of the queen of France. The mind of Thibauld was deeply wounded by the indignity offered to his family; the Roman pontiff readily embraced the cause of the protector of Pierre de le Chatre; he declared the marriage of Petronilla void, and denounced the penalty of excommunication against Rodolph, unless he recalled to his bed his wife, whom he had divorced. But Lewis, doubly interested in the fate of his kinsman, was not to be dismayed by the terrors of spiritual censure; with a formidable army he entered the territories of Thibaud, and compelled that haughty prince to sue for peace: As the means of obtaining it, he promised to intercede with the pope to revoke the excommunication of the count of Vermandois, and the interdict which Pierre de le Chatre had pronounced against the royal domain in the archbishoprick of Bourges. Yet the king had scarce retired within his own dominions before he was

again assailed by the hostile weapons of the apostolical chair; and enraged at the deceit of Thibaud, the sincerity of whose submission he justly suspected, he determined to avenge on the miserable inhabitants of Champagne, the perfidy of their restless prince. The country on every side was blasted at his approach; and the tempest of his indignation burst with accumulated violence on the town of Vitri: The waters of the Maine were stained with the blood of a wretched and defenceless people; and thirteen hundred persons are reported to have perished in the flames which consumed the church of Vitri.

The emotions of rage and resentment had at first occupied the soul of Lewis: To
A.D. 1145. these succeeded compassion and repentance; and the monarch turned with horror from the sanguinary scene, the consequence of his own unbridled passions. He reconciled himself to the count of Champagne; he acknowledged Pierre as the archbishop of Bourges; and, consistent with the devotion of a superstitious age, he determined to merit the absolution of his crime by the assumption of the holy cross. Two ministers at that time divided the confidence, and ruled with equal influence, but different counsels, the mind of Lewis; the veneration for each was increased by the sanctity of their mutual profession; and

and born and educated in the cloyster, their abilities were transferred to the palace and the throne. Both possessed the singular qualities of unfeigned piety and unshaken integrity. Suger, abbot of St. Denys, mean in his birth and meaner in his person, displayed a comprehensive judgment free from the clouds of enthusiasm, and regarded the political horizon with the eye of a penetrating statesman; he earnestly admonished Lewis to be satisfied with the more prudent contributions of men and money; and by his presence at home to secure the tranquillity of his hereditary dominions. His moderate exhortations were overwhelmed by the torrent of his rival's eloquence, and his sagacity was ineffectually exercised in foretelling the evils which he was not permitted to avert. The fatal triumph was due to the fervid zeal, the vehement tone and gestures of Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, in the county of Champagne: Descended from a noble family of Burgundy, he had buried himself, at the pleasureable age of twenty-three, in the austere solitude of monastic retirement; but his virtues were not to be concealed within the walls of his convent, and the holy appellation of saint was an honourable testimony to the blameless tenor of his life. In speech, in writing, and in action, he stood high above his rivals and contemporaries; his fame was enhanced

by his stedfast refusal of all ecclesiastical dignities; he was consulted as the oracle of Europe; and princes and pontiffs trembled at the freedom of his apostolical censures. His glowing colours depicted the meritorious piety, the eternal rewards which attended the holy warfare; and the flame of fanaticism which he kindled in the bosom of the king, was only to be extinguished by the blood of the infidels. His victory over Lewis was followed by the more difficult conquest of Conrad, emperor of Germany, and of Frederick duke of Swabia, his nephew and successor; and at the pathetic voice of St. Bernard, profuse of success and divine favour, the myriads of Europe were again aroused to the defence of the holy sepulchre.

In the parliament of Vezelay, Lewis the Seventh
A. D. 1146. with his queen and nobles, received
their crosses from the hand of the abbot of Clairvaux. The distress of Palestine demanded the immediate presence of the devout warriors; and the falling fortunes of the Latins, could only be propped by the immense preparations for the second crusade. The city of Edessa had been recovered from the Christians by the valour of Zenghi, a Turkish chief, who ruled with independent authority the Asiatic kingdoms of Mosul and Aleppo; and the conquest which

had been achieved by the father, was protected by the same and fortune of his son. The name of Nouredin, the *Light*, still gleams through the darkness of Asiatic history; and its meridian glory eclipsed the faint lustre of the unworthy successors of Godfrey. The throne of Jerusalem was then occupied by the inexperienced youth of Baldwin the Third, and his tender years were protected by the counsels of his mother Melisenda; while the principalities of Antioch and Tripoli obeyed the authority of the two Raymonds, of Poitiers and Toulouse.

The forces which assembled under the standard of the king of France, have been computed at the almost incredible number of A. D. 1147. seventy thousand cavalry and one hundred thousand infantry. The reins of government were, during his absence, entrusted to Rodolph, count of Vermandois, and to Suger, abbot of St. Denys, whose counsels he had rejected, but whose prudence and judgment he esteemed. At the head of this unwieldy host, Lewis traversed successfully the Plains of Hungary, and encamped under the walls of Constantinople. In the interview with Manuel Comnenus, the seat of the French monarch was a low stool, before the throne of the emperor of the East; but Lewis soon after asserted his oppressed dignity; and when he had transported his
army

army beyond the Bosphorus, declined the offer of a second conference, unless his brother would meet him on equal terms, either on the sea or land. From the shores of the Bosphorus, Lewis advanced through a country inhabited by professed friends and secret enemies. The Greeks beheld with terror the innumerable swarms which had poured from the west; and the gates of the cities, both of Europe and Asia, were closely barred against the crusaders. The scanty pittance of food was let down in baskets from the walls; the passes were fortified, the bridges broken down, and the stragglers pillaged and murdered. The impetuous passions of Manuel Comnenus had been aroused by the numbers and martial spirit of the pilgrims of the West, who violated the majesty, and endangered the safety of the empire; and the prince and the people combined to discourage the formidable emigration of their Christian brethren by every species of injury and oppression.

The emulation of the Germans had induced them to press forward to the scene of action; the lingering steps of the French had been retarded by jealousy; their junction might have commanded success, their division ensured defeat. At Nice, Lewis met Conrad, his rival in the pious warfare, returning wounded from a glorious but unfortunate combat on the banks of the Mæander, and
reduced

reduced to exchange the proud dream of conquest for a secure passage to Palestine by Sea, in some vessels which he borrowed from the Greeks. Yet the misfortunes of the Germans served not to abate the swelling hopes of the Franks; and Lewis, without experience or caution, advanced through the same country to a similar fate. The vanguard, with the Oriflame of St. Denys, had rushed forward with inconsiderate speed; and the king, who commanded the rear, when he arrived in the evening camp, could no longer discern his companions through the gloom of the night. Instead of the friendly voices of their countrymen, the French were astonished and dismayed by the dissonant and hostile shouts of the Turks: Their terror and disorder were increased by the darkness which involved them; and they were encompassed and overwhelmed by the innumerable host of the infidels. The king himself had displayed his valour in the foremost ranks, and owed his safety to the darkness of the night and the prowess of his own arm. In the general discomfiture he had climbed up a tree, and on the dawn of day he escaped alive, but almost alone, to the camp of the van-guard. The condition of this part of the army could afford to Lewis but little consolation; the minds of the soldiers were depressed by the irreparable loss of their companions;

nions; the same fate seemed to impend over them; their fainting steps were pursued by the ferocious myriads of the Turks, inflamed by victory and insatiate of blood: Their fears were augmented by their ignorance of the country; and the majority of the guides, which they had brought from Laodicea, had perished in the late disastrous action. After a march, memorable for every species of distress, they beheld with transport the welcome towers of Salia, and hastened to shelter themselves within the friendly walls. The sight of the ocean relieved them from the dread of future dangers by land; and Lewis was content to embark in that sea-port, the wretched remnant of his host that could be supplied with vessels, and direct his course for Antioch. He was received with open arms by Raymond of Poitiers, who ruled that principality with independent authority: But to public calamity succeeded the pang of domestic misery; and it could not be concealed from the eye of a tender husband, that the fidelity of his queen Eleanor had been sacrificed to repay the hospitality of Raymond.

From this scene of his dishonour Lewis, accompanied by his reluctant queen, hoisted
A.D. 1149. sail for Jerusalem, and rejoined in the sacred city the former rival of his glory, the present

present partner of his distress. Yet the ardour of the emperor and the king was not totally extinguished; their zeal was revived by the sight of the holy sepulchre; and with the shattered remains of their forces and the troops of Baldwin the Third, king of Jerusalem, they determined to form the siege of Damascus. Strong in itself, and in the valour and number of its garrison, the city was still more effectually protected by the arts of corruption, and the mutual jealousies of the besiegers. The christians of the east listened with disgust to the rumour, that Damascus, when taken, would be the reward of the count of Flanders; Their envy induced them to betray the cause in which they had embarked; the convoys were surpris'd; the works were insulted; and Conrad and Lewis were at length compelled to relinquish the hopeless enterprise, and with the personal fame of piety and courage they prepared to return to Europe. From a port in Syria, the king of France steered towards Calabria; but his feeble squadron was oppress'd by the numerous fleets of the Greeks; and the monarch himself was perhaps rescued from captivity by the accidental encounter of the naval forces of Sicily, commanded by their celebrated Admiral George. From Calabria, directing his footsteps to Rome, after a personal conference with the
Roman

pontiff, Eugenius the Third, and lamenting the disgrace of the Christian arms, he arrived in his own capital, from which he had been so fatally deluded by the visionary prospect of Asiatic conquest.

The frantic zeal of Lewis had deeply wounded the internal strength and prosperity of his kingdom; while he wandered with a fanatic crowd over the plains of Asia, in pursuit of a phantom which only lured him to destruction, the absence of the numbers who followed his devious footsteps were sensibly felt and lamented in France. The plough-share of the husbandman had been exchanged for the sword; and in every province the lands presented a dreary waste; the castles and buildings a pile of ruins; and the wailing voice of the widow and the orphan was incessantly heard. The return of the monarch, instead of being adorned with the spoils of Asia, was accompanied by shame and disappointment; and the innumerable host he had led forth, was dwindled to a slender train of martial followers. Yet he was received by the loud and heart-felt acclamations of his people; and the misfortunes of his enterprise were lost in the moment of transport. Far different was the forlorn situation of St. Bernard; his own prudence, and the example of Peter the Hermit, had induced him to reject the command
of

of the armies which had been proffered to him; within the walls of his convent he had anxiously awaited the effects of the enthusiasm which he had kindled, and the event of the predictions which he had hazarded; all was gloomy and hopeless, and the successive tidings from Palestine, alarmed, astonished, and overwhelmed the unfortunate abbot. By the voice of an indignant people, he was loudly accused as a false prophet, the author of the public and private mourning; his enemies exulted, his friends blushed, and his apology was slow and unsatisfactory. In vain he urged the implicit obedience which was due to the commands of the pope; in vain he accused the failings and vices of the pilgrims, as the source of their own misfortunes. His predictions had been bold and unqualified; the devout adventurers had been allured by the promise that they should satiate their thirst of spoil and conquest: The cup that was presented to them was filled with the bitter ingredients of defeat and distress; and the Orientals, who confided in the Koran, had triumphed over the Christians of the west, with whose names and military forces they had been so often threatened.

But if the clamours of France might so justly accuse the blind confidence of one ecclesiastic, the tribute of spotless praise and applause was
with

with equal propriety paid to another. Suger, abbot of St. Denys, had in vain endeavoured to divert his sovereign from an enterprise more glorious than prudent; and without assuming the pretensions of prophetic inspiration, he had foretold the miseries which naturally might be expected from the thoughtless and precipitate undertaking. His counsels could not preserve the inconsiderate multitude from the fate which awaited them in Palestine; but his care and wisdom alleviated the distress of the kingdom entrusted to his guidance, and deserted by her sovereign, her nobility, and great part of her inhabitants. That kingdom he preserved in peace, while her rival sister, England, was afflicted by the impetuous passions of Stephen who filled the throne, and the pretensions of the empress Matilda, who aspired to it. The count of Dreux, the brother of the king of France, had preceded the return of that monarch; and envious of his superior dignity, and impatient to wrest from his royal hand the sceptre, had artfully scattered through the land the rumours of royal imprudence and incapacity. His intrigues were detected, his ambitious schemes were baffled by the vigilance and firmness of Suger; and the abbot of St. Denys, on the arrival of Lewis, resigned to him the royal authority, pure and undiminished.

The

The tempest of civil war, which agitated England and was felt through Normandy, first attracted the attention of Lewis; and his support was claimed by and allowed to Stephen, whose son Eustace had yielded him homage for the duchy of Normandy, and had married his sister Constance. But his thoughts were soon after entirely engrossed by a care of a more domestic nature: The levity of his wife Eleanor, and her suspicious partiality for her uncle Raymond, prince of Antioch, were deeply engraven on his mind. The wise admonitions of the abbot of St. Denys were again disregarded; and he determined to divorce from his bed, a licentious female, whose fidelity to it he more than doubted. With Eleanor, he restored her ample inheritance, the fertile and important counties of Guienne and Poitou; and the facility with which he parted from these wealthy provinces, has for ever annexed to him the surname of *Young*. The princess herself fulfilled the prediction of Suger, and threw herself, with her valuable possessions, into the arms of Henry Plantagenet, the son of the empress Matilda; while Lewis endeavoured to console himself for her loss with the charms of Constance, the daughter of Alphonso, the king of Castile, whom he immediately afterwards espoused.

The arms and intrigues of Henry had already
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pervaded the duchy of Normandy; the cities had opened their gates, and received him as their prince; and with Guienne and Poitou, the fruits of his marriage with Eleanor, his possessions in France were at least equal to those of Lewis. The character of that prince began already to unfold itself; bold, penetrating and ambitious, the meridian blaze of manhood was ushered in by the dawning lustre of his youth. To balance the influence he had attained, and the dominion he had acquired, the French monarch still more closely connected himself with his brother-in-law Eustace. But Suger unfortunately was no more; and the abbot of St. Denys, covered with years and glory, expired, amidst the tears and lamentations of the people. The desultory incursions into Normandy were followed by an inglorious truce; and the experience of Lewis was vanquished by the flattery and negotiations of the subtle son of Matilda.

Henry seized the favourable opportunity of this transient calm to transport himself with
A. D. 1153, 1154. his mother into England. The throne of Stephen was shaken by the violence of his own passions, and the arts and personal prowess of his rival; but at the moment that the hostile armies expected the signal for battle, the bloody encounter was averted by the patriotic language of the
earl

earl of Arundel. The contending princes were reluctantly prevailed on to sheath the sword by the general voice of their mutual followers; and a compromise was proposed and enforced, which preserved the crown to Stephen, during his life, and assured it to Henry at his death. Eustace alone rejected a treaty so fatal to his hopes of hereditary royalty. His resentment might once more have exposed the kingdom to the calamities of civil war; but a seasonable fever, perhaps the effect of disappointed ambition, extinguished with his last breath the torch of discord. The father survived not long to deplore the loss of his son; and Henry, without opposition and without a competitor, ascended the throne of England, amidst the unanimous acclamations of the people.

The truce between Henry and Lewis had expired, and the latter had renewed his attempts on Normandy: But the ac- A. D. 1155.
 cession of the former to the crown of England, allowed the French monarch no longer to flatter himself with the hopes of success; and he readily listened to the voice of peace. Though by no means indifferent to the growing greatness of his rival, he wanted power or ability to repress it; and his character is more happily delineated by the epithet of good than great. He had scarce established the tranquillity of his kingdom before he

undertook a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James, at Compostella, the capital of Galicia; and the devout expedition was attended by an interview with his father-in-law, the king of Castile, and with Sancho the Fifth, who filled with reputation and ability the throne of Navarre. On his return, Lewis assembled a splendid council at Soissons, distinguished by the presence of the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Flanders, Troyes, Nevers, and Soissons, and a long train of powerful and noble vassals; but still more memorable by the influence of the sovereign, who engaged the haughty barons to swear to a ten years' peace, and to submit their differences during that space to the decision of justice, instead of appealing to the sword.

Soon after the council of Soissons, the count
A. D. of Flanders had assumed the holy
1156, 1160. cross; but his design of marching to the succour of his Christian brethren in Palestine was interrupted by death, and his last breath bequeathed his son and his dominions to the protection of Henry of England. This trust, which augmented the influence and power of a neighbour already too formidable, was beheld with a jealous eye by Lewis; and the arts with which Henry had condescended to sooth the mind of his rival, gave way to the ardent desire of possessing

sessing the city and diocese of Toulouse: These were claimed by the king of England, in right of his wife Eleanor; and he asserted, that her ancestor, the duke of Aquitain, had only mortgaged and not actually alienated them. The money that had been advanced he offered to restore, and enforced his proffer by a numerous army drawn from every part of his dominions, and with which he invested Toulouse; but that city was defended by the count in person; and the undaunted resolution which he displayed in repelling the attacks of the besiegers, was increased by his just expectations of succour and support from the king of France. He had married Constance, the widow of Eustace, and sister to Lewis; and that monarch hesitated not to march to the relief of his vassal and his kinsman. In a successful action he cut his way through the lines of the assailants, and by his presence revived the drooping spirits of the besieged. Henry, convinced that the enterprise was hopeless from the first moment that the succours entered the town, abandoned the siege, having first, by a compliment, assured the king of France, that he could not think of pursuing his attacks against a city which was honoured by his personal protection. From Toulouse, the king of England poured the torrent of his arms over the prostrate country of

Beauvais, razed the strong fortress of Gerberoy, and extended his devastations within sight of the walls of Paris. For two successive years, the inhabitants of France and Normandy were afflicted by the desultory incursions of their respective princes: The exhausted state of both kingdoms induced them at length seriously to negotiate a peace. The homage in person of Henry was accepted for the duchy of Normandy; and his son, of the same name, acknowledged by a similar ceremony the conditions on which he held Anjou and Maine: While Richard, the second son of the king of England, was betrothed to the daughter of Raymond Berenger, count of Barcelona, and was assigned, for his future maintenance, the county of Guienne. The origin of the war, the claim of Henry to the city of Toulouse, was buried in a studied silence; and that prince was left to resume, as occasion offered, his powerful pretensions.

The peace was scarce concluded before the
A. D. death of Constance, the daughter of
1160, 1162. the king of Castile, and the consort of
Lewis, left that prince a widower; two daughters
had proved the only issue of his marriage with
the deceased queen; and the entreaties of his nobles,
his concern for the tranquillity of his kingdom,
and his desire to perpetuate the sceptre in
the

the hands of his posterity, all concurred in directing him to a third marriage. Adelaide, the daughter of Thibaud, earl of Champagne, was the object of his choice; and his alliance with that princess firmly attached to his interest the different branches of that powerful family. From the celebration of these nuptials, his attention was diverted by the schism of the church, which had broken forth on the death of pope Adrian. Alexander the Third, and Victor the Fourth, both urged their pretensions to the vacant chair of St. Peter: The former was supported by the kings of England and France, who, at an interview at Toucy, nourished the spiritual pride of the Roman pontiff, by condescending to hold the stirrups and the bridle of his horse; while the cause of the latter was espoused by Frederick of Germany. For eighteen years, Europe was inflamed and scandalized by the angry passions of these holy prelates; and the perseverance and claims of Victor were transmitted to two nominal successors, who were branded with the appellation of *anti-pope*, and who yielded not till after a long and obstinate contest to the superior fortune of Alexander.

The hostile flame which had so long consumed the subjects of France and England, had been extinguished by the suppliant voice of one prelate;

it was re-kindled, and blazed with redoubled violence, at the imperious command of another. An hasty spark had indeed arisen from an event most likely to have cemented the friendship of Henry and Lewis; the eldest son of the former had married Margaret, the daughter of the latter, by his queen Constance; and the king of England, as the portion of the princess, had seized Gisors and some other places of importance; but their differences were adjusted by the mediation of the Roman pontiff, and the latent embers of discord slept till awakened by the breath of Thomas à Becker.

This extraordinary man was the son of a burgher, and educated in the schools of London; he afterwards continued his studies at Paris, was received into the family of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and obtained the benefices of St. Mary le Strand, and Otteford in Kent, with a prebendary in each of the cathedrals of London and Lincoln. Thus enabled to support himself in affluence, he retired to Bologna, and applied himself to the civil and cannon law. His various attainments recommended him as a proper person to be entrusted with the most weighty and delicate negotiations; his abilities were known and approved at the court of Rome; and before the death of Stephen, he had been nominated arch-deacon

deacon of Canterbury. On the accession of Henry, his rise was rapid, and his influence unbounded; he was promoted to the office of chancellor, a post of the greatest profit, power, and dignity in the realm. To this was added a number of ecclesiastical preferments, and the custody of the tower was entrusted to his vigilance and fidelity. His expences kept pace with the honours which were accumulated on him; and his immense revenues were scarce sufficient to supply a magnificence which bordered on profusion. His table was open to persons of every rank; and the most exquisite dainties were purchased for his entertainments. Superb in his apparel, his furniture, and his equipage; his palace was the school of education for the sons of the nobility; and prince Henry himself was committed to his care and tuition. Some idea of his resources may be formed from the circumstance of fifty-two clerks being employed in adjusting his private accounts; some conjecture of his lavish expenditure may be drawn from his train, in which were enrolled three hundred knights; and when he negotiated the marriage between the son of Henry and the daughter of Lewis, Paris was astonished at the retinue of a subject which exceeded one thousand persons. Above the opinion or the censure of the world, his amusements burst through the circle of ecclesiastical

tical propriety; the numerous hours which he set apart from business were appropriated to hawks and hounds; these sports were frequently exchanged for the martial exercises of the field: His skill in the tournament has provoked the reproachful praise of the historian; and his triumph in Normandy over a French nobleman of approved valour and dexterity, whom he unhorsed, and whose courser he led away, was no small ornament to his character in a daring and warlike age.

Such were the singular features of the man, whom Henry, contrary to the advice of his mother Matilda, determined to place on the archiepiscopal throne of England. The death of Theobald was followed by the appointment of Thomas à Becket to the vacant See of Canterbury; and in a devout and superstitious age, the authority and influence which were annexed to the dangerous promotion, were sufficient to overwhelm a feeble, and to embarrass the most firm monarch. Even Henry himself, haughty and intrepid as he was, beheld with terror the formidable power of the archbishop of Canterbury, when guided by the abilities, and animated by the invincible spirit, of Becket. From the moment that prelate was translated to the sacred dignity, his life and manners proclaimed the change of his condition; his garments were coarse, his repasts
3 abstemious;

abstemious; he practised with unrelenting severity all the austerities of his order, and his back was frequently bloody with the discipline of the cord: But under the mask of humility he concealed an inordinate and turbulent pride; and his labours were incessantly directed to raise the mitre above the crown.

From the indignation of his sovereign, whom he had presumed to insult and defy, A. D. Becket escaped to Flanders, and was 1164, 1168. readily fortified by the Papal authority, and honoured by a visit from the king of France. When driven by the menaces of Henry from the convent of Pontigny, he was hospitably received by Lewis, at Sens, who allowed him an honourable retreat in the convent of St. Colombe. The persecution of the former was averted by the protection of the latter; and the discordant sentiments of the two monarchs soon displayed themselves in open hostilities. The territories of the count of Auvergne, a vassal of the crown of France, were invaded by Henry; and Lewis, to divert the fury of his arms, and to support the sinking cause of the count, entered with a powerful army into Normandy. A war, which had been hastily embarked in, was succeeded by a transient truce; and the sword was scarcely sheathed before it was drawn again. The barons of Poitou and
Guienne,

Guienne, dissatisfied with Henry, who had endeavoured to abridge their privileges, listened to the promises of Lewis, who inflamed their discontents and encouraged the spirit of revolt. The standard of opposition to their sovereign was openly erected; and for their perseverance in their alliance with France, they even delivered hostages to that crown. Henry, informed of their disaffection, with an army superior to resistance, ravaged the open country, razed the castles of the rebels, and levelled to the ground the revolted towns: But Poitou still confided in the friendly arms of France; and Henry in vain accused the treachery of that prince, and demanded the hostages which he had received from his faithless subjects. The refusal of Lewis was peremptory; and although he consented to extend the duration of the truce, yet the interval was assiduously employed in reanimating the spirits of the Poitevins, and in exciting a fresh insurrection in Brittany. This was scarce quelled by the presence and activity of the king of England, before the contagion of revolt pervaded and broke out in the province of Maine, and Lewis seized the favourable opportunity again to invade Normandy. Yet his progress was slow and indecisive; and while he submitted to the mortification of retreating on the approach of his rival,

rival, his rear was suddenly attacked and routed by the vigorous charge of Henry.

The repeated disappointments of Lewis induced him at length to listen to the voice of peace; and the differences of the rival monarchs were adjusted in a conference at Montmirail. The homage of Henry, and of his sons, Henry and Richard, was accepted for Normandy, Anjou and Maine, Guienne, and the county of Brittany, which had been settled by the king of England on his younger son Geoffrey, and whose absence was supplied in the ceremony by his elder brother Henry. But Lewis was not entirely indifferent to the interest of Becket, whose cause he had espoused, and whose protection had first kindled the flame of war. His powerful mediation was answered by the moderation of Henry; "I am not," said the monarch, "the least in power and reputation of the sovereigns who have ruled the kingdom of England; and men equally good and holy as Becket have, doubtless, possessed the See of Canterbury: yet I am content to restore him to the archiepiscopal throne, provided he will pay the same respect to me as the most powerful of his predecessors have paid to the most insignificant of mine." But this reasonable proposal was rejected or eluded by the haughty and inflexible prelate; the condition was still

still clogged with the reservation of the honour of God and the privileges of the church; and Lewis, relinquishing the vain hope of accommodation, was content to continue to Becket his assurances of personal support and protection.

The reader will probably be impatient to hasten to the fate of that turbulent man: A reconciliation was at length effected, by the united efforts of the king of France and pope Alexander the Third; and Becket re-crossed the seas, and once more occupied the see of Canterbury. But his arrogant spirit had not been humbled by adversity; he launched forth his thunders against his former opponents; suspended the archbishop of York, and excommunicated the bishops of London and Salisbury. Henry was in Normandy while the tranquillity of his kingdom was violated by the frantic proceedings of the turbulent prelate; and he received the mortifying intelligence with the most acrimonious expressions against the presumptuous churchman. The exclamation, "that he had no friends about him, otherwise he would not have been so long exposed to the insults of that ungrateful hypocrite," sunk deep in the minds of four of his most resolute attendants; they determined to gratify their sovereign's secret inclinations; and after an oath to revenge his quarrel,

quarrel, they retired from court, and embarked for England.

Their sudden departure, and some menacing expressions which had escaped them, alarmed the mind of the king; and fearful of the event, he sent after them, to forbid their committing any violence: But the fatal deed was already perpetrated; the conspirators, after reproaching, had followed the devoted victim to vespers; and as soon as Becket reached the altar, their rage was satiated, and the life of the archbishop extinguished by repeated wounds. The sacred pavement was stained with the blood of his mangled body; the holy altar itself was besmeared with his brains; and the circumstances of the murder, the place where it was executed, and the fortitude with which the prelate had resigned himself to his fate, impressed a devoutly factious multitude. Years of licentious revelry and turbulent ambition were effaced by the sufferings of a single moment; and the presumption and obstinacy of Becket were rewarded with the glory of martyrdom. His shrine was the scene of innumerable miracles; and Henry found the archbishop, when dead, equally formidable as when alive. The intelligence of his fate had been received by that monarch with real or affected concern: By the most humiliating concessions, he with difficulty disarmed

disarmed the resentment of the pope; and the arrogant spirit of the martyr himself must have been gratified and appeased, could it have foreseen the prostrate posture of the monarch at his tomb, and the severe penance which he endured.

A.D. 1172. We have already observed that the very alliances between the kings of France and England, which ought to have ensured their friendship, were the frequent source of their discord. Henry had caused his eldest son to be crowned in England, while his consort was in France; and Lewis, to efface or avenge the affront, turned his arms against the duchy of Normandy. But the prudence of the king of England extinguished this spark of hostility almost as soon as it was kindled; he promised that the ceremony of the coronation should be again repeated; and Margaret was solemnly crowned at Winchester with her husband, by the archbishop of Rouen, and the bishops of Evreux and Winchester. On the return of the young couple to Normandy, they were permitted to visit the court of France; and Lewis first poisoned the mind of his son-in-law with that ardent desire of independence, the origin of equal affliction to his father and himself. Greedy of power, and impatient of controul, the heir of the throne considered himself eclipsed and oppressed by the virtues and glory of him who filled it;

it; and whatever place was the residence of his parent, became immediately hateful to the aspiring son. The term for his visit in France expired; he had returned to England with reluctance; and disgusted with a situation of restraint, he now escaped from the court of Henry to seek shelter in that of Lewis. The pretence that his life was in danger thinly concealed his want of filial duty; but Lewis received the royal fugitive with open arms, and prepared to avenge his ideal injuries by the sword. The policy of the king of France was matured by age and experience; in successive negotiations he had been duped by the superior genius of Henry; and sensible of former errors, he was inflamed by the desire of retrieving his reputation: The present opportunity was favourable, and he was determined to improve it to the utmost. He was convinced that Henry still remembered with indignation, the assistance and protection which he had afforded to Becket; that he only waited till his own kingdom was in a state of internal tranquillity to resent it; and that it was his business, by continual disturbances at home, to engage his attention, and to prevent his ambition from proving troublesome to his neighbours abroad.

On every side, the situation of Henry presented difficulties which must have overwhelmed a

mind less firm or less fruitful in resources : The pope still nourished a secret resentment of the fate of Becket ; while the English regarded with reverence the tomb of the martyr, and loudly accused their sovereign as the author of his death. On the one side, William, king of Scotland, formidable from his situation, and hostile in his disposition, menaced him with invasion ; on the other, his new acquisitions in Ireland, a country which had lately submitted to his government, required his attention. Prompted by Lewis, his son Henry demanded the absolute investiture of Normandy ; and on his refusal, the father beheld with astonishment, the standard of revolt joined by his queen Eleanor, and his younger sons Richard and Geoffrey : The nobles of Normandy, of Anjou, Guienne, and Brittany were already in arms ; and the king, surrounded with open and secret enemies, could only confide in his abilities, and the justice of his cause.

A.D. 1173. Lewis, animated by the distress of his rival, and the unanimity of his own subjects, by force and fraud rendered himself master of Vernueil, and delivered it to the flames ; but the appearance of Henry, at the head of an army inured to danger, fatigue, and discipline, checked his further progress, and even exposed his rear to defeat and disgrace. The different confederates

confederates who had promised to espouse the cause of the prince, either deserted their engagements, or were baffled by the superior skill of their sovereign: William of Scotland, harassed and pursued, was glad to subscribe the peace which was proffered him; and the banner of insurrection, which had been unfurled in Brittany, was followed by the total rout of those who had resorted to it. Depressed by these unexpected disappointments, the mind of Lewis for a moment inclined to peace; conferences were opened at Gisors, but they only ended in mutual reproaches; and a short truce for the Easter holidays, which was afterwards agreed upon, allowed both parties to prepare more effectually for war.

To appease the murmurs of his people, Henry submitted his back to A.D. 1174. the scourge of the Monks, and watched a whole night near Becket's tomb. Whatever might be the merit of that saint's intercession, the mortification of Lewis was severe and unqualified; the moment that his hand was stretched out to seize it, the visionary conquests eluded his grasp, and his dream of prosperity vanished from his sight. The earl of Flanders lamented his unsuccessful attempt on England; the king of Scotland, who had violated the peace, was taken prisoner at Alnwick; the revolted barons returned once more to their allegiance;

giance; and Lewis, accompanied by the young prince Henry, was compelled by the approach of the king of England to raise the siege of Rouen, which he had invested. This last disgrace determined the French monarch to renew the negotiations for peace; with an honourable regard for the princes who had confided in his protection, their interests were first provided for; but Richard, who rejected the treaty, was left to the discretion of his father, and a transient tranquillity was restored between the rival kingdoms.

A. D. 1177. The terms of reconciliation were scarce adjusted, before they were once more menaced by the remonstrances of Lewis. Alice, his youngest daughter, was betrothed to Richard, the second son of the king of England; and the king of France loudly accused the evasive conduct of Henry, who retained the princess at his court, without solemnizing the marriage: The answer of Henry was a demand of the city of Bourges, which had been promised as the dowry of Alice. This engagement was denied by Lewis, and the monarchs agreed to refer the dispute to the arbitration of the pope. But the Roman pontiff waved the discussion, to turn the united arms of the princes to the relief of the Holy Land. Henry and Lewis both received the cross, and both settled their mutual preparations for executing their
their

their solemn engagement; yet neither of these monarchs embarked in the perilous undertaking. The ardour of Lewis was cooled by his former misfortunes, and the nobility of France strongly remonstrated against the hazardous and unprofitable enterprise: While Henry, whose absolution for the murder of Becket had been purchased by a solemn vow of invading Palestine, when summoned by the pope, still found the embarrassed situation of his affairs demanded his presence in his own dominions.

An anxious regard for the succession of his crown and the tranquillity of his kingdom, had induced Lewis to bestow A.D. 1179. his hand on his present consort; and his wishes had been gratified by a son, to whom he had given the name of Philip. But the fears of the monarch were soon awakened by the danger of the prince: As the royal youth, whose tender years were scarce equal to the task, pursued the chase in the forest of Compeigne, his horse ran away with him; and sequestered from the search of his attendants, the heir of France was condemned to pass a tedious night, oppressed by solitude and despair. His feeble mind was not capable of sustaining the horror of his situation; and when found in the morning, a dangerous fit of illness was the effect of the fright. The pious father determined to

visit the tomb of Becket, and solicit the interposition of a saint, who had experienced his earthly protection. He was received at Canterbury by Henry with royal hospitality and magnificence: After having presented his offerings at the shrine of Thomas, he embarked again for France, and his arrival was attended by the welcome intelligence of the recovery of his son.

A. D. But the agitation of his mind had
1179, 1180. fatally affected the health of Lewis, already rapidly descending into the vale of years. His life was assailed by a sudden stroke of apoplexy; and though his senses were restored, yet the palsy seized his right side, and announced the danger that impended over him. Sensible of his doubtful situation, he determined to hasten the coronation of his son; and the ceremony was performed in the presence of the heir of England, and the count of Flanders, by the archbishop of Rheims. To this important care succeeded the marriage of the prince; and Philip, at the age of fourteen, espoused Isabella, the daughter of Baldwin, count of Hainault. But the tranquillity of Lewis was established too late, and the progress of disease could not be checked by the prospect of happiness; in the sixtieth year of his age, and the forty-fourth year of his reign, he expired at Paris; and if the prudence and judgment of the
king,

king, in restoring the dowry of Eleanor, have been arraigned, his humanity has been seldom, and his piety has never been, impeached: A tender husband and an affectionate father, the errors of the monarch were lost in the virtues of the man.

Chapter the Eighth.

ACCESSION OF PHILIP THE SECOND, SURNAMED AUGUSTUS;—EMBARKS FOR THE HOLY LAND WITH RICHARD OF ENGLAND.—SIEGE OF ACRE.—PHILIP RETURNS TO FRANCE.—SUCCESSIVE WARS WITH RICHARD AND JOHN.—BATTLE OF BOUVINES.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF PHILIP.

PHILIP when he assumed the reins of government was but in the fifteenth year of his age. The count of Flanders, the uncle of his queen, was suffered to enjoy the name and honours of regent; but although his counsels might influence, his authority was never permitted to control the inclination of the youthful monarch; and his subjects might discern an unbounded thirst of dominion, a jealous zeal for the royal prerogative, in their new sovereign. From his birth, which established the peaceable succession to the crown of France, Philip attained the expressive surname of *The Gift of God*. The voice of flattery in his more mature years had gratified his vanity with the appellation

of *Conqueror*, and *Magnanimous*; and after his death, the policy he had displayed was productive of the addition of *Augustus*. The first and last of these names might be due to the auspicious moment in which he entered the world, and the manner in which he conducted himself through it; but his rage for *conquest* was checked by the personal valour of Richard of England; and his *magnanimity* is but ill attested by the envious perfidy with which he deserted that prince on the hostile coast of Palestine.

In a licentious age, the attention of the king of France was invariably en-
A.D. 1180.
gaged to maintain the dignity of his character; and the court was purged by his severity of a motley train of buffoons and jesters, whose mimic skill, and coarse wit, were the delight of a people, yet ignorant of that politeness and refinement for which they have been since so eminently distinguished. To these personal cares succeeded others of a more public nature: The murmurs of the people loudly accused the wealth of the Jews, who had possessed themselves of one third of the landed property throughout the dominions of Philip. Their riches, the fruits of oppressive usury, had procured them the patronage and protection of the nobles; but the determination of the king, while it offended the barons gratified the commons; and this miserable and fugitive race were
compelled

compelled to retire from the territory of France, with only their personal effects. The mercenary soldiers who had served in the wars of the late monarch, had spread themselves over the defenceless country, and indulged themselves in every species of wanton outrage; they were reduced or destroyed by the arts and forces of Philip; to provide in future against a similar evil, and to embellish the cities which acknowledged his authority, he commanded the inhabitants to pave and to surround with walls sufficient for their immediate security, the towns in which they dwelt; and the progress of the work was hastened by the presence of the king himself, whose vigilant eye pervaded every part of his dominions.

The jealousies of the court began already to threaten the public tranquillity. Adelaide, the mother of the king, resented the partiality of her son to the count of Flanders, who, without children himself, had bestowed on his niece the royal dowry of the county of Artois, and the district fertilized by the river Lys: With the queen dowager was joined her brother William, cardinal and archbishop of Rheims. But their intrigues to dissolve the marriage with Isabella were vain; and the displeasure of Philip was displayed by appointing the coronation of himself and his consort at the abbey of St. Denys, and receiving his crown

crown from the hands of the archbishop of Sens, instead of those of the archbishop of Rheims. Adelaide, to support her faction, implored the assistance of Henry of England; who listened with pleasure to her request, repaired immediately to Normandy, and received with great respect the queen herself, and her brothers, the counts of Blois, Sancerre, and Chartres. With a numerous army he advanced to second their demands; but Philip was already prepared to encounter this hereditary foe; and the king of England, doubtful of the event, preferred to the chance of battle the arts of negociation. Even in these, the early wisdom of Philip was conspicuous; averse to either extreme he rejected the presumptuous claims of the rebels, and the advice of the count of Flanders, to decide the dispute by the sword. To his mother he professed the duty of a son, but at the same time asserted the independent authority of a sovereign; to the lords, who had engaged in the revolt, he offered a free pardon; and their ready submission broke the measures of Henry, who consented to retire, after confirming the former peace between the crowns of France and England.

The partiality of the king to the
count of Flanders had been the ori-
gin of the former rupture; yet but a short time
elapsed before that nobleman himself revolted
against

A. D.

1180, 1182.

against the royal authority. He had beheld with disgust his counsels neglected, and an accommodation preferred to the hazard of war; his disgust was increased by the powerful motives of interest. The countess of Flanders was a princess of the royal blood, and the heiress of the count of Vermandois; her husband, on her death without issue, asserted his right to the succession confirmed by the separate grants of Lewis and Philip. But the king of France was too deeply interested in so important an acquisition, to be restrained by the common ties of equity, and his claims assumed an appearance of justice from his declaration, that the grant was only for the life of the countess. Arms alone could decide the dispute, and the count of Flanders in vain endeavoured to allure the barons to his standard, by representing the injury as general, and the cause as common. Almost alone and unsupported, he was compelled to yield, and thought himself happy to attain by a compromise the towns of Perrone and St. Quintin, and to surrender the rest of the county of Vermandois to the crown.

A.D. 1184. The association of the younger Henry to the throne of England has been already remarked, and his father had constant reason to repent his hasty partiality to an ungrateful son.

son. Vain, fickle, and turbulent, his repeated rebellions had broken the happiness and assailed the life of his parent; continually baffled and pardoned, his disappointed spirit urged him at length to assume the cross; and while he prepared for his departure to the Holy Land, he was seized with a mortal indisposition at Martel, in the county of Turenne. His last expressions were those of penitence, and his death opened the path of royalty to his brother Richard, equally restless and more enterprising. His widow, the daughter of the late king of France, by his second wife Constance, had lived childless in his embraces; and Philip now claimed Gisors, and some other dependencies in Normandy, which had been allotted as the dowry of Margaret; but Henry, unwilling to part with them, offered to conclude the marriage between Richard, now become the heir of the crown, and Alice, the sister of Philip, provided he was suffered to retain the disputed territory: The proposal was acquiesced in, and the monarchs parted with mutual professions of esteem and friendship.

The moments that could be ravished from the national enmity and hostile encounters of England and France, Philip assiduously employed in the internal regulation

A. D.

1185, 1188.

lation of his dominions, and in repressing the formidable enterprises of the duke of Burgundy and the count of Flanders. But the calm produced by the late peace was of short duration, and the subjects of Philip and Henry were soon again agitated by the tempest of war. The marriage of Alice with Richard was still studiously delayed; Geoffrey, the second son of Henry, and duke of Brittany, had revolted from his father, and acknowledged himself the vassal of France; his undutiful designs were interrupted by death, and he expired of a fall from his horse at a tournament. But Philip retained from Henry, his widow Constance, his infant daughter Eleanor, and a posthumous son named Arthur; and asserted his claim to protect and watch over the offspring of his vassal. Richard had also refused to yield homage to the king of France, for the counties of Guienne and Poitou; and Philip, after experiencing the ineffectual mediation of cardinal Octavian, the legate of the pope, invaded with a formidable army, Berry, and laid siege to Chateauroux, on the banks of the Indre. The spirits of the garrison were animated by the presence of Richard and John, the sons of the English monarch; and Henry himself, alarmed for the safety of the princes, hastily collected his forces, and advanced toward their relief. In anxious suspense, the hostile
armies

armies awaited the signal of battle, and the dawning glory of Philip was opposed by the mature renown of Henry; but the encounter was averted by the legates of pope Urban the Third: These thundered their anathemas against the first who should begin the engagement. The devotion of the princes wrested their weapons from their hands; a peace was immediately concluded; and the rival monarchs engaged to unite their forces for the relief of the Christians in Palestine, oppressed by the victorious career of the great Saladin.

The birth of a son and heir, who was named Lewis, slackened not the A. D. 1187. preparations for war; and the clergy were compelled, though reluctantly, to contribute large sums towards the proposed expedition: These were distinguished by the name of Saladin's tax, expressive of the purpose for which they were levied. Yet when the hopes of the Oriental Christians were awakened, and the flame of enthusiasm was again kindled in the west, the arms of Philip and Henry were once more turned against each other; and the forces which might have checked the progress, and over-turned the empire of the infidels, were ineffectually consumed in their bloody conflicts.

Richard was discontented with the incessant delays

delays which constantly impeded his marriage with Alice; and Philip nourished his rising disaffection, and prepared to avail himself of the continual discord which afflicted the family and embarrassed the affairs of the English monarch: He himself suggested to the impetuous prince, to renew the former quarrel with the count of Toulouse; and under pretence of avenging the insult, the king of France entered Berry, and possessed himself of Chateauroux, Buzençais, Argenton, and Leuroux. Mont-Richard was taken by assault, and reduced to ashes; and with equal facility he extended his conquests over Touraine and Auvergne.

The age of Henry did not prevent him from taking the field to oppose the youth of his rival: The veteran warrior buckled on his armour; but, doubtful of the event of war, he proposed that instead of Richard, his son John should espouse the princess Alice. The offer was rejected by Philip and by Richard, who now openly acted with him; even the mediation and menaces of the pope's legate were treated with scorn by the king of France, and his sacred life was with difficulty preserved from the sword of the British prince. The conference was broken off to resume the operations of war; Philip and Richard entered the province of Main; forced the gates of Ferté-Bernard,

Bernard on the river Huisne; received the submission of Monfort, Bonhestable, and Beaumont; and almost surprised Henry, astonished at their progress, in the city of Mans. From the flames of that city he escaped to Frenelles; while the confederates advanced with uninterrupted success, and the standard of France was planted on the walls of Tours, and displayed on the Banks of the Loire.

Fortune had forsaken the declining age of Henry, and he was compelled to purchase a peace by renewing his homage to Philip, and consenting to the coronation of Richard. The marriage of that prince with Alice, was to be celebrated on his return from the Holy Land, and he was gratified with the immediate payment of twenty thousand marks of silver. The treaty was signed at Azay; and in two days afterwards Henry expired at Chinon; his last moments embittered by the ingratitude of his son John, who had deserted his father to join the party and partake the prosperity of Philip.

That monarch might well exult at the prospect before him; he had humbled the turbulent pride of his nobles at home, and established his reputation abroad; he was delivered by the death of Henry from a dangerous and vigilant rival; and Richard, his successor, was bound to him by the ties of gratitude, and the sanctity

sanctity of oaths. Insatiate of fame, and enamoured of war, the kings of France and England prepared to fulfil their engagements, and to unfurl the sacred banner of the cross; while Richard sailed from Marseilles, Philip embarked at Genoa, after having entrusted the administration of his kingdom, under certain restrictions, to his mother Adelaide and the cardinal archbishop of Rheims.

After escaping a tempest which scattered the royal fleet of France, Philip cast anchor on the coast of Sicily, and in eight days afterwards beheld the sails of Richard enter the port of Messina. The Island was governed by Tancred, whose regal title was disputed by Constance, the wife of the emperor Henry, the steadfast ally of the French monarch; and Jane, the dowager queen, and sister of Richard, was a prisoner to the reigning prince. The appearance of two powerful armaments, commanded by leaders who had such plausible subjects of complaint, and whose moderation there was too much reason to distrust, excited the most painful sensations in the bosom of Tancred; but his throne was secured by the mutual jealousies of the rival kings; and the narrow island of Sicily was nearly converted into the theatre of their hostilities. Richard, to extort a sum of money from Tancred, which he asserted was due to him, attacked the city of Messina; and

and Philip, with the forces of France, prepared to defend it. With difficulty they were prevailed on to submit their differences to the calmer tribunal of reason: The marriage of Alice was still the thorn which rankled in their bosoms; Philip consented to receive again his sister, and Richard promised to restore Gisors, and the other places which had been so long retained as her dowry. Richard espoused the daughter of Sanchez, king of Navarre; and after reducing the Island of Cyprus, and imprisoning Isaac the sovereign, he pursued his voyage to the Holy Land, and cast anchor in the Bay of Acre, where he already found the fleet of France.

The combined forces of these monarchs, powerful as they were, did not exceed the distress of the Christians of the east, and the difficulties which on every side opposed their enthusiastic enterprise. After the male line of Godfrey was extinct, the sceptre of Jerusalem was weakly held by Sybilla, the daughter of Baldwin, and the grand-daughter of Fulk, count of Anjou. Her fond partiality after the death of her child, had transferred it to her second husband, Guy of Lusignan, a prince of a handsome person, but of such base renown, that his own brother Geoffrey was heard to exclaim, "Since they have made *him* a king, surely "they would have made *me* a god." Raymond,

count of Tripoli, the most powerful vassal of the crown, beheld the elevation of Lusignan with secret indignation ; and, excluded from the succession and regency, entertained an implacable hatred against the king, and exposed his honour and conscience to the temptations of the sultan.

That title was due to the virtues and power of Salâdin the *Great*, a name immortalized in the annals of Oriental history. The services of his father and uncle, Job and Shiracouh, had opened to him the road to greatness ; his powerful hand wrested the sceptre from the infant offspring of Nouredin ; but although he usurped the throne he respected the life of the son of his benefactor ; and the new lord of Egypt was decorated by the caliph with every title that could sanctify his usurpation in the eyes of the people. During a reign invariably prosperous he successively stretched his authority over Damascus, Aleppo, and Diarbekir ; Mecca and Medina acknowledged him for their temporal protector ; the regions of Gemen or Happy Arabia, were subdued by his brother ; Jerusalem was ravished from the Christians ; and at the hour of his death, his empire was spread from the African Tripoli to the Tigris, and from the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia. Intrepid and devout, he might boast of uniting the virtues of the hero and the saint : His youth had indeed been stained with the love of women and
2 wine;

wine; but these temptations soon yielded to the more potent one of ambition. A coarse woollen was his garment; water was his only drink; and while he emulated the temperance, he surpassed the chastity, of his Arabian prophet. Affable in his manners, and boundless in his liberality, he was patient with the meanest of his servants; and at the time of his death no more than forty-seven drams of silver and one piece of gold were found in his treasury. In a reign of incessant warfare, his tributes had been diminished, yet his dominions were embellished by the royal foundations of hospitals, colleges, and mosques.

The sinking kingdom of Jerusalem had been pressed on every side by A.D. 1187. the victories of Saladin; the contracted State was encircled with a hostile line, and its existence was only protected by the truce which the Franks presumed to violate. Reginald, of Chatillon, a soldier of fortune, had seized a fortress on the edge of the desert, from whence he pillaged the caravans, and threatened the cities of Mecca and Medina. The sultan condescended to complain; rejoiced in the denial of justice; and at the head of fourscore thousand horse invaded the Holy Land. The siege of Tiberias was suggested by the perfidious count of Tripoli; and at the instigation of the same traitor, Lusignan drained his garrisons

and advanced to the relief of it. By the arts of Raymond, the Christians were betrayed into a camp destitute of water; the count himself fled at the first onset; Lusignan, with the loss of thirty thousand men, became the prisoner of the Sultan; and three months after the battle of Tiberias, the victor appeared in arms before the gates of Jerusalem.

The holy city still contained sixty thousand Christians; and in the defence of the sepulchre of Christ it might reasonably have been expected that every Christian would have proved a soldier. But the devoted walls were shaken by the factions of those who should have united for the defence of them: Queen Sybilla trembled for herself and her captive husband; and the most numerous portion of the inhabitants, the Greek and Oriental Christians, preferred, from experience, the Mahometan before the Latin yoke. The resistance of the besieged was languid and ineffectual; fourteen days had scarce elapsed before the banners of the faithful were planted on the breach; and the humanity of the conqueror consented to accept the prostrate city and to spare the suppliant inhabitants. The Greek and Oriental Christians were permitted to live under his dominion; the Franks and Latins were conducted to the sea ports of Syria and Egypt; ten pieces of gold were required

quired for each man, five for each woman, and one for every child; and those who were unable to purchase their liberty, were to be detained in perpetual slavery.

The rapid and victorious career of Saladin was at length checked by the resistance of Tyre: To that port the troops and garrisons which had capitulated, were successively conducted; and their numbers were united and disciplined by the prudence and skill of Conrad, marquis of Montferrat. Their forces were swelled by the gradual arrival of succours from Genoa, Pisa, and Venice; from France, Normandy, and the western isles. The impatient multitude burst from the walls of the city, rejected the counsels and command of Conrad, and at the persuasion of Lusignan, who had been released from prison, formed the siege of Ptolemais or Acre. Above a year had already been consumed in the arduous undertaking; the Moslems of Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and the Oriental provinces had assembled under the command of Saladin; his camp was pitched within a few miles of Acre; and the Christians, though victorious in many a bloody encounter, thinned by famine, the sword, and the climate, already began to sink beneath despair; when, in the second spring of the siege, their hopes were revived

and their enemies dismayed by the appearance of the royal fleets of France and England.

The peculiar circumstances of these monarchs had compelled them to embrace, or at least to affect a reconciliation; but they scarce had landed before new causes of discontent ministered to their ancient enmity. Sybilla had expired without issue, and the crown of Jerusalem was claimed by the marquis of Montferrat, who had married the younger sister of that princess, and who asserted that the reign of Lusignan ended with the life of his consort. The pretensions of Conrad were supported by Philip; the regal title of Guy was fortified by Richard; and the Christian camp was scandalized by the unanimity of the infidels, and the discord of their own leaders. It was at length agreed to postpone the decision of this important dispute, and to press with redoubled vigour the siege of Acre. With rival valour they urged their separate attacks; the walls were shaken by their machines; and the attempts of Saladin were repelled by their vigilance and firmness: Their youthful emulation triumphed over every obstacle; and the garrison of Acre, no longer animated by hope, submitted to their fate, and opened their gates to the victors. Their lives and liberties were ransomed by two hundred thousand pieces of gold; the city was divided
between

between the victorious kings of England and France ; and each monarch established a separate and independent authority within the districts assigned him.

Even in the moment of victory, the Christians might deplore the loss with which it was attended ; and Philip, besides an ob-
A.D. 1191.
scure and nameless multitude, might lament the counts of Flanders, Bar, Blois, Sancerre, Eu, and Ponthieu, with a long list of nobles of inferior rank but equal gallantry. His own health was considerably impaired by the heat of the climate : Although personally brave, the statesman predominated in his character ; and he was weary of sacrificing his time and interest on a barren coast, where he was eclipsed by the superior military renown of Richard. The dispute between Guy of Lusignan, and Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, was indeed terminated ; Guy retained for his life the crown of Jerusalem, with Jaffa and Cæsarea ; the two latter, with the title of count, he transmitted to his posterity ; but the kingdom, after his decease, was transferred to Conrad, and was to be perpetuated in his issue. One cause of discord between the rival monarchs was thus happily removed ; but the holy service was still disturbed by their national jealousy ; and the two factions which they protected in Palestine, raged
with

with unabated violence. The surrender of Acre was the signal of Philip's departure, and he determined to hoist his sails for his native coast. To the marquis of Montferrat he assigned that part of Acre, which had acknowledged his authority: To justify his unpopular desertion, he left the duke of Burgundy, with five hundred knights and ten thousand foot, for the continuance of the holy warfare; and to the king of England he engaged his solemn oath, not to attack his dominions or his vassals during his absence. His voyage was prosperous; but the fidelity of the historian is compelled to reveal, with a blush, the perfidy of his conduct. Landing in Naples, he directed his steps to Rome, and unveiled the secret motives of his visit by earnestly, yet ineffectually, soliciting the Roman pontiff, Celestin the Third, to absolve him from the oath which he had taken to Richard.

Each transaction declared the eternal enmity with which he pursued, the secret terror with which he beheld, his royal rival. The marquis of Montferrat, in the hour of confidence, and in the midst of Tyre, had perished by the dagger of assassins, the subjects of the Sheick, or Old Man of the Mountain; the public voice loudly accused Richard as the author of the murder; and the proof of his innocence, a pretended letter from
the

the Sheick, is rejected as an absurd and palpable forgery. Philip, above the rest, insinuated the guilt of the king, and dreaded, or affected to dread, a similar fate. By splendid presents he endeavoured to propitiate the Old Man of the Mountain; and by the advice of his council, a faithful and select guard, with iron maces, attended his person night and day, and suffered no stranger to approach him. Artful and intriguing, he closely connected himself with John, the brother of Richard; and the death of Isabella, during his absence, dissolving his nuptial ties, he offered his hand to Ingeberge, the daughter of Waldemar, and the sister of Canute, king of Denmark; and only asked in dowry, the obsolete claim of the Danes upon England, and the assistance of their fleet: Even these were refused; and Philip consented to receive with a trifling portion, a princess, whose birth at first excited the murmurs, but whose manners afterwards conciliated and retained the affections, of his subjects.

Full of glory, if glory is to be attained by a ferocious and brutal valour, Richard
retired from a hopeless war in Palestine, A.D. 1193.
where he had beheld, without being permitted to rescue, the holy city of Jerusalem from the dominion of the Moslems. His laurels were blasted by the prudence or envy of his companions; and
even

even his personal freedom was violated by the base revenge of a prince who had served under his banner, and who was irritated by a real or imaginary insult at the siege of Acre. This prince was Leopold, duke of Austria, through whose territories the king of England, ship-wrecked on the coast of Dalmatia, endeavoured to pass in disguise. By Leopold he was sold to the emperor, Henry the Sixth, a monarch whose avarice could only be equalled by his indigence. Philip, with transport received the tidings of his rival's captivity, and sensible how much he was interested in the continuance, in vain endeavoured, by profuse offers, to obtain possession of his person. He renewed his alliance with John of England, and declared war against Richard, contrary to the remonstrances and inclinations of his nobles, who displayed an honourable reluctance to oppress a prince, the companion of their toils in Palestine. But the avidity of Philip was not to be restrained by the sanctity of oaths or the laws of honour; he occupied Gisors, reduced the counties of Eu and Aumale, and advancing to Rouen, wasted his forces in the fruitless siege of that city. The menaces of the pope, and the indifferent success of John in England, concurred in disposing Philip to accept of the advantageous terms which were offered him; and he consented to a peace,

or

on condition that he should receive, after the release of the king of England, twenty thousand marks, at certain stipulated periods, and be immediately put in possession of some castles, which he named, as security for the payment of that sum.

By the mediation of the princes of A. D.
the empire, the ransom of the king of 1193, 1194.
England was fixed at one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver; and the zeal and compassion of his subjects freely contributed their wealth to deliver a sovereign, who had ruled them with a rod of iron, from the injurious bondage in which he was retained. The intrigues of the king of France to delay the moment of freedom were frustrated by the integrity of the nobles of Germany; and his sensations, when he found himself exposed to the open resentment of a warlike prince, whom he had so basely and mortally injured, may be judged from his expressions in a letter to John, "Take care of yourself, for the devil is unchained." The emperor and the princes of Germany had already threatened France with an invasion, unless her monarch consented to restore the places of which he had deprived his rival; and Philip considering this menace as a declaration of war, and desirous by his activity to anticipate the hostile designs of his adversary,
entered

entered Normandy with a powerful army. He had already invested Verneuil, when he was alarmed with the intelligence that John had reconciled himself to his brother, massacred the French garrison in Evreux, and delivered it into the hands of the king of England; and that Richard himself, with a formidable force, had landed at Barfleur, and, impatient for action, and eager for revenge, was rapidly advancing to the relief of Verneuil. With a light body of troops, the king of France, by an unexpected march, surprised again the city of Evreux, and the lives of the English garrison were sacrificed to expiate the perfidy of John: But this advantage afforded Philip a vain and transient triumph; the main body of his army, which still remained before Verneuil, astonished at the absence of their king, and dismayed at the approach of Richard, disbanded in confusion; and Philip himself on his return, narrowly escaped the pursuit of his rival.

The language of peace on each side
A. D. 1194. accompanied the preparations for war; but the feeble voice of the former was drowned by the sound of the trumpet; and the hostile monarchs approached each other near Fretteval, between Chateaudun and Vendome. Philip was still desirous of avoiding a decisive battle, and concealed his intentions of retreat by a defiance

to

to the king of England, " That the next morning " he might expect his attack." But Richard penetrated into the artifice of his rival; his answer was firm, and his measures prompt; and the king of France had scarce welcomed the return of his messenger, before he heard the shouts and beheld the banners of the English. The French were broken by the sudden and impetuous charge, and Philip fled before the sword of the lion-hearted Richard. His baggage, his military chest, with the most important papers of the State, were the prey of the victor; and the latter, which Richard would never consent to restore, were but imperfectly supplied by the memory of his ministers.

Richard himself entered Guienne with his victorious army, and reduced the castles which had revolted. During the course of several months, fruitless negotiations were interrupted by desultory enterprises; Dieppe was surprised and pillaged by Philip; Iffoudun was assaulted and captured by Richard; and the subjects of each might deplore, with reason, the unabated rage which burned in the bosoms of their indignant sovereigns, and delivered France and Normandy to the miseries of war. That rage was at length rather suspended than extinguished by their mutual weakness; they listened to the voice of reason, and the remonstrances of the legate of the pope;

A.D. 1195.

and a truce for six months was followed by a treaty of peace, which from the place where it was concluded, has been called the peace of Louviers: The principal article it contained, besides restoring the places taken on each side, was the delivery of Alice to her brother Philip; and the Helen of France and England was permitted, after occasioning the effusion of so much blood, to bestow her hand on the count of Ponthieu.

A. D. 1196, 1199. The interests of the two kings had reciprocally inclined them to peace; yet their interests yielded to their unbridled passions, and six months had scarce elapsed before the treaty of Louviers was violated. Richard had razed the fortress of a vassal belonging to Philip; and the king of France, in defence of his dependant, invaded Normandy, and possessed himself of Aumale; but his progress was checked by Richard at the head of a small but veteran body of forces. In the course of this contest, the English monarch displayed a degree of policy hitherto unknown to his character: He attached the count of Toulouse to his party, by giving him in marriage his sister Jane, the widow of William, king of Sicily; he inflamed Baldwin, count of Flanders, with the hopes of recovering the county of Artois; and he insinuated to the ministers of Arthur, the son of his brother Geoffrey, and who inherited the county of

of Brittany, the probability of his being appointed his successor in the throne of England: While Philip, on the other hand, seemed to have changed dispositions with his rival, and acted with the inconsiderate levity of an inexperienced youth.

Arras was besieged by the count of Flanders; and the French king, with a numerous army, advanced to the relief of it. Baldwin, incapable of opposing with any probability of success the superior forces of France, retreated before them; and Philip pursued him with improvident ardour through a country intersected with deep ditches and inclosures. But his numbers served only to augment his confusion and distress; unable either to advance or retire, he himself was assailed by the slow but certain attacks of famine; and was solely extricated from the danger which surrounded him, by the moderation of the count, and by his own specious promises. Baldwin improved the opportunity to mediate between the contending monarchs, and a truce of a twelvemonth was granted at his intercession. On the expiration of that term the operations of war were recommenced with increase of vigour; and only suspended at the holy voice of pope Innocent the Third. To his remonstrances, five years of reluctant tranquillity were granted; and before this suspension of hostilities could ripen into a

HISTORY OF FRANCE.

solid peace, Richard himself received a mortal wound as he pressed the siege of Chalus, to extort from his vassal Aymar, viscount of Limoges, a treasure which that nobleman had found.

A. D. 1193, 1200. The death of Richard relieved Philip from a formidable competitor; but his own imprudence allowed him not to enjoy this short respite from foreign commotion, and he was already embarrassed by cares of a more domestic nature. The night that delivered Ingerberge to his arms had extinguished the flame of his affection; the virtues of the princess were not capable of affecting the dark mind of her husband; and at his command she retired to a monastery with the esteem of a people who revered her modesty, her piety, and her patience. Subservient prelates, obedient to the powerful voice of their sovereign, were readily found to gratify his wishes by a sentence of divorce, under pretence of consanguinity; and the king, three years after his marriage with Ingerberge, espoused Agnes, the daughter of the duke of Dalmatia. But the resentment of the Dane was aroused by the indignity offered to his sister; he appealed to the sacred and omnipotent tribunal of Rome; and, after a variety of sentences, Philip was at length constrained to resign the possession of Agnes, and

to

to re-call Ingerberge from the convent to the throne. The mind of Agnes was too sensible of disgrace to survive the opprobrious decision; she sunk beneath the weight of her grief; and the court of Rome, which had exiled her from the bed of her husband, legitimated her son and daughter, the fruits of their connection.

John, on the death of Richard, had occupied the vacant throne of his brother; but the crown of England was claimed by

A. D. 1100.

Arthur, duke of Brittany, the grandson of Henry the Second, by his third son Geoffrey. His inexperienced years were guided by the manly counsels of his mother Constance, a princess haughty and implacable, bold and turbulent. Anjou, Touraine, and Maine acknowledged the jurisdiction of Arthur; and the important town of Angers was delivered by the governor into his hands. In support of his title, Philip entered Normandy, and ravaged with impartial rapacity the country that he claimed for his youthful ally; while John, with a considerable army, invested the capital of Maine; and after reducing it, razed the walls of the city as an instance of terror to the other towns that might be inclined to follow the example of Mans, and to erect the standard of rebellion. But doubtful of the strength of his sword, he preferred the arts of negotiation.

To Lewis, the eldest son of the king of France, he offered his niece Blanch, the daughter of Alonzo, king of Castile, and promised to entail on that princess, in case he died without issue, all his dominions in France : To Philip he immediately ceded the Vexin, in Normandy ; and the French monarch, happy in terms which exceeded his most sanguine expectations, acceded to the proposal, and abandoned the support of Arthur, who was compelled to renew his homage to John for the county of Brittany.

A.D. 1200, 1202. The manners of a licentious age had already loosened the sacred bands of matrimony ; and a voluptuous prince like John, hesitated not to divorce his present consort from his bed, and to raise to it Isabel D'Angouleme, whose charms had inflamed his passions, and whose hand was engaged to Hugh, count of March. But the subjects of John already conspired against a capricious and oppressive reign ; the count of March resented the indignity that had been offered him ; and Philip once more prepared to support the convenient title of Arthur. That prince, with the treasures of France, raised a considerable army, and invested the queen dowager Eleanor in Mirabeau, a city of Poitou. John, emerging from his natural indolence, hastened to the relief of his mother : Arthur was surprised, and after a gallant resistance,

sistance, was taken prisoner by his uncle; the castle of Falaife was allotted at first for his residence; he was thence removed to Rouen; and the manner of his death, which plainly evinced the royal hand that hastened it, instead of establishing, shook the throne of John to its very foundations.

The policy of Philip induced him to A. D. 1202, 1204. avenge the death of the youth whom he had abandoned when alive; John, as his vassal, was summoned to answer the charge of murder before the court of peers at Paris. On his refusal, all the lands which he held as fiefs of the crown of France were declared forfeited. These forms might sanction the proceedings of Philip; but other measures were requisite to dispossess the powerful master of Normandy; and in a field of battle, not in a court of justice, the differences of monarchs are to be decided. The standard of France was again beheld in Normandy; and an indignant people, who scorned the tyrant and the assassin, impatiently crowded to join it. The gates of Alençon, Conches, Andeli, and Vaudreuil, were opened at his approach; the forts along the banks of the Loire displayed the colours of Philip; and Chateau Gaillard, a castle erected by Richard on the banks of the Seine, and supposed to be impregnable, after a siege of six months, was taken by the king of France.

The inactivity of the king of England astonished his enemies, and extinguished the hopes of his friends: He had indeed assembled a powerful armament for the relief of Chateau Gaillard; but his fleet was delayed by adverse winds, and his foldiers betrayed themselves to ruin by their own rapacity. Satisfied with this effort, he relapsed into his former indifference; while Philip invested Rouen, which capitulated; re-united Normandy to the kingdom of France; and with the exception of Chinon, which held out till the ensuing summer, completed the conquest of Anjou, Maine and Touraine.

A. D. 1205, 1206. Guy of Tours, who by his marriage with Constance, the mother of prince Arthur, had obtained the duchy of Brittany, beheld with a jealous eye the encreasing power of the king of France, which threatened to overwhelm the vassals of the crown. His resentment against the assassin of Arthur was sacrificed to his interest; he renounced the party of Philip, and endeavoured to rouse the insensible John from the lap of indolence. For a moment, the king of England seemed awakened from his trance; he landed at Rochelle with a formidable force, successfully assaulted the town of Angers, and might have once more restored his waning fortune. But the flattering prospect was again

again blasted by his levity: Impatient of the toils of war, he concluded a truce for two years; and the duke of Brittany, abandoned to the mercy of Philip, was compelled to subscribe the humiliating conditions imposed by that haughty monarch.

The arms of France had been engaged in extending the dominions and A. D.
1206, 1209; augmenting the authority of her sovereign; they were now diverted to gratify the holy ambition of the successors of St. Peter, and to check the progress of heresy. Raymond, count of Toulouse, tolerated in his principality the unbounded freedom of religious opinion; and the court of Rome launched her thunders against a sect who rejected her tenets, and whom, from their inhabiting near Albi, had obtained the name of Albigens. The banner of the cross, which had been unfurled against the infidels of Asia, was, at the command of Innocent the Third, displayed for the destruction of the dissenters of Europe; the pious commission, though publicly declined, was privately connived at by Philip; and the county of Toulouse was successively abandoned to the sacred sword of Eudes, duke of Burgundy, and the devout barbarity of Simon de Montfort.

The same weapon which the Roman pontiff had so advantageously employed A. D.
1209, 1214.

against the Albigeois, he was determined to try the temper of against England. John had refused to admit cardinal Langton as legate from the holy see; and the resentment of Innocent excommunicated the king, and delivered his dominions to the first invader. Philip readily declared himself the champion of the papal authority; his son Lewis had privately assumed the cross against the Albigeois; and his father was willing to divert his zeal to an enterprise which promised a more fruitful harvest. But the preparations of Philip were scarce complete before the wrath of the pope was extinguished by the abject submission of John: That prince, in the prostrate posture of humility, condescended to deliver his crown into, and to receive it again from, the hands of the pope's legate. This act of vassalage was rewarded by the successor of St. Peter with absolution; but the people beheld with indignation the degrading ceremony, and the hatred for their sovereign was lost in contempt.

Although Philip had readily assumed
A.D. 1213. his arms at the voice of the Roman pontiff, he was not inclined to abandon, at the same command, an enterprise which his interest recommended. He might have despised the censures of the court of Rome, but he was embarrassed by the intrigues and preparations of the king of
England:

England: That prince awakened from the trance of indolence by his immediate danger, covered the sea with his fleets, and filled every court with negotiations hostile to France. The counts of Flanders, Bologne, and Toulouse, confederated with Otho, emperor of Germany; and confident of success, already divided in imagination the dominions of Philip. That monarch first turned his arms against the count of Flanders, invested Ghent, and blocked up, with his naval forces, the port of Dantzic; but he was soon compelled to raise the siege with loss; three hundred of his ships were destroyed by the fleets of John; and the king of England having extended his devastations as far as the frontiers of Britany, retired to Parthenais, in Poitou, to wait the operation of his allies in Flanders.

Philip, sensible that it was more honourable, and not more dangerous, boldly to encounter his enemies in the field than tamely to expect their attack, marched to meet the forces of the confederates. The hostile armies approached each other near Tournay; and the village of Bouvines has given its name to a battle memorable for the rank, the valour, and the numbers of the combatants. Under the standard of Philip marched fifty thousand men, led by the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Dreux, Nevers, Sancerre, Ponthieu,

Ponthieu, and St. Paul. The various host which followed Otho was swelled to a larger amount, and was animated by the presence of the dukes of Limburgh, Brabant; and Lorrain, the counts of Namur, Flanders, and Bologne, with the earl of Salisbury. The conflict was fierce, bloody, and for a long time doubtful; the fortune of France and Germany alternately prevailed; Philip himself, wounded in the throat and dragged from his horse, was in danger of being trampled to death; Otho was surrounded and captured by his enemies, and rescued with difficulty. But the valour of the French triumphed over every obstacle; the sun which shone on their backs, dazzled the eyes of their adversaries; pressed on all sides, the confederates endeavoured in vain to retire; a gradual retreat was soon converted into a hasty and tumultuous flight; and the counts of Flanders and Bologne deplored in chains their rashness or their guilt. Yet the victory of Bouvines served more eminently to display the policy of Philip: He was sensible the late formidable conspiracy was formed rather by jealousy of his own power than a regard for John; he was willing to disarm the suspicions of his subjects; and weary of commanding an army where the troops of the crown bore but a small proportion to those of his vassals, he consented to a truce for five years, and determined
affiduously

assiduously to employ that interval in amassing treasures that might enable him to support an independent and regular body of forces.

On the defeat of his allies, John had A. D.
 repassed the seas to England; and the 1215, 1217.
 tranquillity which he might have derived from the late truce was overwhelmed by a torrent of civil commotions. The English barons had erected the standard of opposition; and their rights were vindicated from the oppression of the tyrant by the celebrated charter, the bulwark of English liberty, which since has been known by the name of MAGNA CHARTA. It was scarcely subscribed before it was violated by the faithless monarch; the pope, to whom his submissive conduct had endeared him, absolved him from his oath; and the barons deceived, surprised, and incapable alone of encountering the royal forces, invited to their assistance, and stimulated by the offer of the crown of England, Lewis, the eldest son of the king of France. That prince endeavoured to conceal the claim of conquest under the shadow of a title from his consort Blanch, the grand-daughter of Henry the Second; and his preparations were powerfully but privately forwarded by his father Philip, who still affected inviolably to maintain the truce he had concluded. While he furnished the young prince with a formidable armament,
he

he prohibited him from interfering in the dissensions of England; and Lewis, defying the vain thunders of the vatican, sailed from Calais, landed at Sandwich, and was received with open arms by the discontented nobles. His success was rapid, brilliant, and transient; Rochester submitted, London hailed him as her deliverer and her sovereign, and for a moment his reign and authority seemed permanently established: But this gleam of prosperity was soon over-clouded; he was compelled successively to relinquish the sieges of Windsor and Dover Castles with disgrace. The sudden death of John re-united the barons in their allegiance to his infant son Henry; and Lewis reluctantly evacuated a capital which he had occupied too hastily. His distress induced him to consent to a truce; at the expiration of it he renewed his fruitless efforts; but the fleet he had assembled was intercepted by the English; his forces were defeated in a battle near Lincoln; and the prudent measures which were pursued by the earl of Pembroke, the regent of England, were attended by a peace, the articles of which stipulated the restoration to Henry of the English castles still occupied by Lewis, and his influence to procure the restitution of Normandy, from his father Philip; or in case of his failing in that endeavour, his solemn promise to deliver it to the

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the

the English monarch whenever he should succeed to the throne of France.

The sentence of excommunication A. D. 1219, 1223. which had been denounced by the pope against prince Lewis on his invading England, was repealed by his legate; and Philip, after some desultory attempts against that kingdom, consented to another truce for four years. The troubles in Toulouse were again revived by the fury of persecution; the patience of the people was exhausted by the inhumanity of Simon de Montfort, and their despair at length proved fatal to Simon himself. At the earnest intreaty of the Roman pontiff, Honorius the Third, Lewis was permitted by his father to unfurl the banner of the cross, and to march against the Albigois. His efforts were baffled, and his progress checked, by a race of enthusiasts destitute of hope and incapable of fear; and he was recalled from an unprofitable field, which afforded not a single leaf of laurel, by the prudence of a parent anxious for the tottering reputation of his son.

That parent, at length, approached the end of his long and splendid career. A. D. 1223. Amauri de Montfort, inflamed with religious zeal and hereditary enmity against the sectaries of the church, who were stained with the blood of his father, and to engage Lewis with more ardour in the

the holy warfare, proposed to resign to the crown of France his rights to the duchy of Narbonne, the county of Toulouse, and all those lands which pope Innocent the Third had so liberally bestowed upon Simon de Montfort in the council of Lateran: This important offer was referred to an assembly of the nobles and clergy, at Paris; and as Philip, with the intention of being present himself, pursued his journey from his new acquisitions in Normandy to his capital, he was arrested by death at the town of Mante, in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and in the fifty-ninth of his age. As a general, his reputation at least equalled that of his contemporaries; and the ingenuity with which he invented a variety of warlike engines, for the destruction of the human race, may be either applauded or regretted. But the character of the hero was surpassed by that of the statesman; his policy extended the narrow limits of kingly power; and his successors on the throne of France were indebted to Philip for the grandeur they attained.

Chapter the Ninth.

REIGN AND DEATH OF LEWIS THE EIGHTH;—IS
SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON, LEWIS THE NINTH.—
REGENCY OF QUEEN BLANCH. — LEWIS AS-
SUMES THE CROSS, AND EMBARKS FOR EGYPT.
— REDUCES DAMIETTA; — IS DEFEATED, AND
TAKEN PRISONER BY THE INFIDELS; — RAN-
SOMED, AND RETURNS TO FRANCE. — CON-
QUEST OF SICILY BY THE COUNT OF ANJOU. —
LEWIS ENGAGES A SECOND TIME IN A HOLY
WAR; — LANDS, AND EXPIRES ON THE COAST
OF AFRICA.

LEWIS the Eighth was scarcely ^{A. D.} 1223, 1224.
seated on the throne of France, before Henry
the Third, of England, demanded by a solemn
embassy the restoration of the dominions which his
father had possessed in France, and which Lewis
had bound himself by oath to surrender. But
the hour of danger was passed; and the French
monarch was not destitute of plausible pretences
to conceal his want of faith. In the language of
recrimi-

recrimination, he urged that the English barons had not been confirmed in those privileges which the treaty stipulated, and that a heavy ransom had been unjustly extorted from the French prisoners. Sensible that the dispute must be decided by arms, he extended his negotiations with foreign powers; and fortified by the alliances of Frederick, emperor of Germany, and Hugh, count of March, who had married the queen dowager of England, he immediately invaded Poitou. Niort and Rochelle were gradually and successively reduced; and Bourdeaux, with the country beyond the river Garonne, were all that remained of the extensive territories formerly possessed by England. To preserve these, Henry conferred on his brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, the title of count of Poitou, and furnished him with a formidable squadron, and a considerable body of forces, to support his new dignity. The inhabitants of Poitou, flattered by the presence of a prince of the blood royal, crowded to his standard: The spirit of opposition was revived; the career of Lewis was checked; and that monarch, impatient to engage in a new enterprise, consented to a truce for three years.

A. D. 1224, 1226. The court of Rome strongly solicited the king of France to resume the cross, and again to march against the Albigois.

geois. The memory of his former inglorious campaign might deter him for a moment, but the vehemence of the pope triumphed over all opposition : On this occasion Lewis thought fit to accept the offer of Amauri de Montfort ; and in return for the cession of the claims which he derived from the liberality of the Roman pontiff, Montfort received the promise of the post of Constable, as soon as it should become vacant. The thunders of the Vatican had already been launched against the count of Toulouse and his adherents, and the king of France prepared to support these spiritual censures with a powerful army : From Lyons he directed his march along the banks of the Rhone, and invested Avignon with fifty thousand men. The inhabitants, animated by despair, defended themselves with obstinate valour ; and the king, after the loss of the bravest of his troops, was forced to grant that capitulation at last, which he had refused at first. With a harassed and dispirited army, he turned from the hostile walls of Toulouse ; and in his retreat was seized at Montpensier with a mortal distemper, which terminated a reign of three, and a life of thirty-nine years.

Lewis the Ninth, who attained the
 pious surname of Saint, was scarce A. D. 1226.
 eight years old when his father expired ; and

his tender age was entrusted to the care of his mother, Blanch, the daughter of Alonzo, king of Castile: That princess assumed the reins of government, and held them with more than female firmness. Instead of vainly lamenting over the tomb of her late consort, she employed the immediate moments to secure the crown and regal authority of her son. The youthful king was crowned at Rheims by the bishop of Soissons; and, sensible of the intrigues of the nobles, who had long regretted the diminution of their former independence, and who beheld with pleasure the favourable opportunity which now presented itself, she prepared to encounter their arts with equal arms.

The most powerful of the confederates, whose secret counsels and open preparations threatened the tranquillity of the kingdom, and shook the very foundations of the throne, were, Philip, surnamed *Hurpel, rude*, the son of Philip-Augustus, by Agnes the daughter of the duke of Dalmatia; and who, from the affection of his father, derived the title of count of Clermont, and from his marriage that of count of Bologne: Joanna, countess of Flanders, who from the imprisonment of her husband Ferdinand after the battle of Bouvines, governed that province with independent authority, and pursued with implacable hatred

the queen-dowager: Peter de Dreux, the grandson of Robert, the fourth son of Lewis the Gross, and who, as the husband of Constance, ruled with the title of count the fertile country of Brittany: Thibaud, count of Champagne, who presumed to profess himself the personal admirer of Blanch, and whose vanity and jealousy armed him against her administration: Raymond, count of Toulouse, whose dominions had lately been devoted to religious persecution, and who sought for peace amidst the calamities of war; and Berenger, count of Provence, whose honourable revolt was actuated by the sincere and steady friendship which he had ever professed and maintained to the count of Toulouse. The private motives of the confederates were veiled by the pretence of public good; and their demands were recommended by their apparent moderation. They required, before they yielded their homage to the king, that the queen should secure to them the inviolable maintenance of those laws to which, by birth, she was a stranger; that she should restore the estates which had been confiscated during the former reign; and that she should release the prisoners of state, particularly Ferdinand, count of Flanders.

Blanch, determined to preserve the
 dignity of the crown entrusted to her

A. D.

1227, 1229.

care pure and immaculate, rejected their demands; and while she diligently collected a small but well-disciplined body of forces, she condescended to employ every species of art, and to exert the influence of her charms. The count of Champagne was rather allured to her side, than awed by her power; the countess of Flanders was embarrassed by the release of her husband, which decency compelled her to require, but interest prompted her to dread; while Ferdinand displayed, with persevering fidelity, his gratitude to his royal deliverer. By a prudent distribution of favours, the minds of the conspirators were soothed and conciliated; the ceremony of homage was gradually acquiesced in; and the tempest which had threatened to subvert the infant authority of Lewis, was for a moment hushed and appeased.

A. D. 1229, 1233. But this calm proved deceitful; and while Blanch flattered herself with the prospect of returning tranquillity, the storm burst forth with redoubled violence. Philip, count of Bologne, who had secretly nursed the hopes of the conspirators, now openly erected the standard of rebellion, and even aspired to mount the throne of France. Disappointed in his attempt to seize the person of the king, he endeavoured to delude the queen with a small and inadequate force
into

into the hostile county of Brittany; but the snare was discovered to Blanch by the affection of the count of Champagne; and when the confederates hoped to secure their important prize, their measures were again disconcerted by the appearance of that nobleman, at the head of a superior army. The queen seized the moment of success to negotiate with the count of Bologne; she convinced him that his real interest was to maintain the authority of the king, his nephew; she unfolded the secret designs of the confederates; and plainly proved, that while they flattered his ambition with the prospect of royalty, their inclinations were unanimously directed towards Enguerand de Coucy, a nobleman conspicuous above his contemporaries for his virtues and abilities. Philip consented to exchange his visionary hopes of a crown for the solid emoluments of a pension. The intrigues of Blanch extended even to the court of London; and the ministers of Henry were, by splendid presents and artful gratifications, induced to subscribe a truce for three years, while the count of Brittany was humbled by the arms of the queen, and reluctantly submitted to the humiliating language of feigned penitence.

In the lapse of these various commo-
 tions, the king himself had attained the
 age of nineteen years; and at the command of
 his

A. D.

1233, 1242.

his mother, he bestowed his hand on Margaret, the daughter of the count of Provence: Yet Blanch still maintained her former ascendancy; and the count of Brittany, who had presumed once more to provoke her resentment, was reduced, prostrate on the ground, and with a rope about his neck, to implore the pardon of Lewis. The vanity of Thibaud, count of Champagne, had engaged him in fresh intrigues; his resistance was inglorious, his submission abject; and the nobles, baffled in their successive enterprises, assumed the cross, and in the wars of Palestine found employment for their turbulent and restless valour. On their return they resumed their factious cabals; and the counts of March and Brittany renewed their negotiations with Henry of England, a prince, weak, fickle, and indigent. His feeble aid served only to augment the glory of Lewis, who in two separate engagements triumphed over his revolted subjects. The count of Toulouse was the last who defied his arms; even his spirit was at length subdued, and he was happy to obtain from the clemency of the king, terms which permitted him the peaceable enjoyment of his dominions, but at the same time precluded him from future opposition; while Lewis beheld himself peaceably established on the throne, and invested with the same royal prerogative as
his

his father Philip had possessed in the plenitude of his power.

Two regulations proclaim the prudence and policy of Lewis. The first, A. D. 1242, 1246. under pretence of preventing strangers from inheriting lands in France to the prejudice of the natives, precluded the nobles from marrying their daughters to foreigners, and restrained them from increasing their influence by connections and alliances with the neighbouring powers. The second compelled the vassals of the crowns of France and England, to determine to which sovereign they would yield homage; and finally abolished the dangerous custom of adhering to either, as their caprice or interest suggested. Yet even in this edict, the humanity of Lewis was conspicuous, and his justice indemnified those who adhered to him for the lands that they forfeited, by seceding from the king of England.

A dangerous indisposition, which A. D. 1247. menaced the life of Lewis, was productive of a fatal vow to march in person against the infidels, whose successive victories had overwhelmed the Christians of the east: Yet the blind zeal which induced him to descend from his throne to seek the adventures of a spiritual knight-errant, did not prevent him from concerting his measures with the utmost prudence and foresight.

To secure the tranquillity of his kingdom during his absence, he engaged the turbulent counts of March and Brittany to share with him the merits of the holy warfare. In conformity with the general practice, he published that he was ready to redress every injury he had offered; and the king of England demanded by his brother, the earl of Cornwall, the duchy of Normandy, and the rest of those territories in France, of which he had been unjustly despoiled: To the bishops of that duchy the application was referred; and the general character of Lewis allows us to suppose his refusal the result of their decision: Yet Henry consented to renew the truce between the two kingdoms; and the French monarch, after entrusting to his mother Blanch the reins of government, prepared for his departure.

A. D. 1248. To furnish an armament equal to the arduous enterprise, France was exhausted of troops and treasures: The sea was whitened with eighteen hundred sails; and nine thousand five hundred horse, and one hundred and thirty thousand foot, have been computed as the number of the martial pilgrims. Margaret shared the dangers of her royal consort; and his two brothers, Robert count of Artois, and Charles count of Anjou, and afterwards king of Naples, were the companions of his toils. The fleet with
favourable

favourable winds reached the coast of Cyprus; the troops were disembarked on the friendly shore; and during the severity of winter, their strength was recruited and their health restored by the plenty of that island.

On the approach of spring, it was determined to commence the opera- A.D. 1249.
tions of war; and it was hoped that Palestine might be subdued in Egypt, a country from which the Moslems derived the most effectual support. After a prosperous voyage, the fleet cast anchor in the mouth of the Nile; and Lewis, in complete armour, the Oriflame waving before him, leaped foremost on the beach. The strong city of Damietta, which for sixteen months had formerly withstood the assaults of the Christians, was abandoned by the trembling infidels on the first attack; but that town was the first and last of his conquests. A ruinous delay introduced into the camp the seeds of an epidemical disease; and the progress of the Franks, whose columns pointed towards Cairo, the capital of Egypt, was impeded by an unseasonable inundation of the Nile. Under the eye of their intrepid monarch, the barons and knights of France displayed their invincible contempt of danger and of discipline; the count of Artois, with about two thousand of the flower of the army, passed the deep and rapid

rapid stream; and with inconsiderate valour rushed towards, and stormed the town of Maf-soura. But the momentary consternation of the inhabitants was dispelled by the intelligence that the main body of the French was still separated by the Nile from the rash assailants. The flying Moslems were rallied by a soldier who deserved, and who afterwards usurped, the sceptre; and before the Christians could arrive to the support of their van-guard, the count of Artois and his fearless companions had effaced, by a glorious death, the fatal error of impetuous courage. The battle was with difficulty restored, and the Saracens were at length compelled to relinquish the field to the daring warriors of France, animated by the example of their gallant monarch.

But the unprofitable victory served only to augment the distress of the Franks; and they too plainly discerned that the utmost efforts of military skill and valour were of no avail. By these efforts their fate might be procrastinated, but it could not be averted. From the increasing numbers of the infidels, they were compelled to shelter themselves in a strong camp; while the Nile was commanded by the Egyptian galleys, and the open country by the Arabs. All provisions were intercepted; each day displayed the rapid progress of disease and famine; and a shower of Greek fire

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fire was incessantly poured on their heads by the surrounding Saracens. The moment the invaders determined to retreat, they discovered that it was impracticable. The Oriental writers confess that Lewis might have escaped by sea, if he would have deserted his subjects; and policy would have justified the prudent, though inglorious flight. But his magnanimous mind preferred the thorny path of honour; with his brother, the count of Anjou, the greatest part of his nobles, and the shattered remnant of his army, the king of France became the captive of the victorious followers of Mahomet.

A triumph so splendid, a victory so important, was sullied by the cruelty of the conquerors; the captive monarch was himself loaded with chains; his subjects, who were unable to ransom their lives, were inhumanly massacred, and their heads were exposed to the derision of the inhabitants on the walls of Cairo. But the strength of Damietta was the security of Lewis; to the fortifications of that city he had entrusted his royal consort and his treasures. The Saracens beheld with hopeless eyes the solid towers which mocked their feeble assaults; and the deliverance of Lewis, and that of his soldiers, was obtained by the restitution of Damietta and the payment of four hundred thousand pieces of silver.

After

A. D. 1250. After fulfilling these conditions with scrupulous integrity, Lewis, with his queen Margaret and about six thousand soldiers, the war-wor'n relics of his former host, embarked on board the gallies of Genoa, for the port of Acre in Palestine. It might have been reasonably concluded, that after his late misfortune he would have relinquished the vain hope of eastern laurels, and returned to the government of his own kingdom; But he was unwilling to revisit his dominions without glory; and he confided in the vigilance and ability of his mother Blanch. The fortitude of that princess was overwhelmed by the disastrous campaign in Egypt, and the captivity of her son; a weak administration and mournful existence were prolonged for about two years, till she sunk into the grave, beneath the incessant pressure of unavailing sorrow.

A. D. 1254. The death of Blanch, and the remonstrances of his subjects, recalled Lewis from Acre; within the walls of which city, unable to visit Jerusalem, he had ingloriously wasted four years. Though received by the acclamations of his people, his dress was plain, and his features melancholy; the former was still impressed with the sign of the cross; the latter displayed the evident marks of his defeat: Yet the magnificence of the monarch was beheld with admiration

admiration in his reception of Henry the Third of England, who embraced the opportunity of an expedition into Gascony to visit Paris. The splendour of his entertainment was enlivened by the courteous manners of Lewis; and the interview between the two kings was followed by a renewal of the former truce for two years longer; while the connections of the king of France were extended by the marriage of his daughter Isabella with Thibaud the Second, king of Navarre, and count of Champagne and Brie.

The same justice with which Lewis A. D. governed his own dominions, shone 1255, 1265. with distinguished lustre in every transaction with his neighbours. He conciliated the differences between the dowager countess of Provence, mother of his consort, and his own brother, the count of Anjou. His decision, which deprived the latter of certain castles, the object of their dispute, was rendered palatable to Charles by a liberal pecuniary compensation from his own treasury. To Henry the Third, as an equivalent for his vain pretensions to Normandy, he ceded the Limosin, Querci, and Perigord; and the terms which he granted to the English, when their government was distracted by the weakness of their king and the ambition of his minister, the daring and enterprising earl of Leicester, might, even in a more prosperous

prosperous state of their affairs, have been deemed reasonable and advantageous. Between that minister and his sovereign, the king of France was chosen to mediate; and a reference so honourable to his integrity, was justified by his moderate and lenient counsels. To this arbitration succeeded the concerns of his own family; and on the death of his eldest son, Lewis negotiated the marriage of Philip, the next, with Isabella, the princess of Arragon, who had been previously engaged to the deceased prince.

But the same equity which characterized Lewis, resided not in the bosom of his brother Charles; eminent for ferocious manners and brutal courage, the court of Rome, with transport, acknowledged him the chosen champion of her eternal enmity to the imperial house of Swabia. The crown of the two Sicilies had been usurped by Mainfroy, the bastard of Frederic the Second, to the prejudice of Conradin, the nephew of that emperor. Pope Clement the Fourth, equally inimical to both, as the successor of St. Peter, bestowed the important prize on the count of Anjou. The banner of the cross was unfurled against the domestic enemy of the Vatican; and Charles, at the head of the chivalry of France, on the bloody plains of Beneventum, despoiled Mainfroy of his crown and life. The death

death of the usurper awakened from obscurity the pretensions of Conradin; but the hapless youth sunk in the unequal conflict, a prisoner to the unfeeling conqueror: His rights were extinguished on a public scaffold; the forms of justice were prostituted, to veil the cruelty of the victor, and to aggravate the anguish of the vanquished; and the establishment of Charles on the throne of the two Sicilies, gave rise to what the French have styled the first race of Anjou.

Sixteen years of peace had obliterated from the mind of Lewis the misfortunes of his former crusade; the latent flame of enthusiasm, which had been damped by his defeat in Egypt, was not extinguished, and the breath of opportunity was only wanting to fan and revive the dormant embers. The wisdom of his regulations had restored the tranquillity of his dominions; his coffers were recruited, his finances augmented, and his hopes expanded. His silent preparations had been incessantly directed towards the single object of his devout ambition; the loss of Antioch provoked the more immediate execution of his designs: His example was followed by his three sons, Philip, John, and Peter, by his nephew the count of Artois, and by the most gallant spirits of the court of France. The reins of government during his absence were entrusted

A. D.
1266, 1269.
to

to the vigilance of Matthew, abbot of St. Denys, who derived his noble lineage from the counts of Vendome; and to Simon de Clermont, count of Nefle, justly esteemed for the united qualities of his head and heart.

Aigues-mortes, a small sea-port of Languedoc, near the mouth of the Rhone, was a second time rendered remarkable by the embarkation of Lewis; and the fleet of France, instead of directing its course towards Palestine or Egypt, steered for the coast of Africa. An obscure king of Tunis, (whose doubtful name of Muley-Mortanga or Omar attests his insignificance) had professed his inclination to abjure the tenets of Mahomet for those of Christ; and the vain report of an immense treasure reconciled the more interested pilgrims to the wild and visionary enterprise. But caprice or policy had already united the fickle or crafty barbarian to the precepts of the Koran; and instead of a zealous proselyte, Lewis encountered an active and formidable enemy. The walls of Carthage were indeed stormed by the impetuous valour of the French; but their strength was exhausted before the gates of Tunis; and the warriors of the west panted beneath the sultry heats, and expired on the burning sands of Africa. The king himself was at length infected by the pestilential blast, and he breathed his last on the inhospitable

inhospitable shore, in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and the fifty-sixth year of his age. In his singular character were united the virtues of the saint and the hero; and his piety and equity in peace were not more conspicuous than his fortitude and valour in war. The father of his people, his heart ever sympathized with their miseries, and his hand was ever stretched out to relieve their distress. His prudent policy preserved them from the calamities of foreign invasion; but his excellent understanding was clouded by the fumes of enthusiasm, and the slaughter of his subjects, his own captivity, and at length his death, were the fatal consequences of a blind superstition.

Chapter the Tenth.

REIGN OF PHILIP THE THIRD, SURNAMED THE HARDY.—REVOLT OF SICILY FROM CHARLES OF ANJOU.—DEATH OF PHILIP THE THIRD, AND SUCCESSION OF PHILIP THE FOURTH, SURNAMED THE FAIR.—WAR WITH EDWARD THE FIRST OF ENGLAND.—DIFFERENCE WITH POPE BONIFACE THE EIGHTH.—INVASION OF FLANDERS.—DEATH OF PHILIP THE FOURTH.

THE death of Lewis did not prevent his son and successor Philip, who attained the
A. D. 1270. surname of Hardy, from continuing the war against the infidels with vigour and success. His shattered forces were strengthened by the arrival of his uncle Charles, the king of Sicily, with a considerable fleet and army: The Saracens were defeated in two engagements; the king of Tunis was reduced to sue for peace; and his offers of doubling the tribute he formerly paid to the crown of Sicily, of re-imbursing the expences of the war, and of permitting the Christian

Christian religion to be freely propagated throughout his dominions, were accepted by the kings of France and Sicily, who embarked their troops, and hoisted sail from the infectious coast.

But the seeds of disease still lurked in the bodies of the martial pilgrims, A. D. 1271. and on their arrival in Sicily, burst forth with baneful influence. Philip, to alleviate the anxiety of his mind, from the court of Sicily visited that of Rome; and pursuing his journey through the principal cities of Italy, reposed a short time at Lyons, and entered his capital amidst the acclamations of his people. Yet France had reason to lament the destructive consequences of the enterprises from which he returned; besides the multitude that perished without a name, and perhaps without a sigh, on the coast of Africa, in the island of Sicily, and in his progress through Italy, Philip beheld his father Lewis, his brother John, his queen Isabella, his brother-in-law and sister, the king and queen of Navarre, and his uncle and aunt, the count and countess of Poitiers, the noble victims of the same contagious disorder.

The first moments of his return were dedicated to the pious care of his father's funeral, the next to the important ceremony of his own coronation. With active vigilance he inspected every

part of his dominions; he took possession in person, of the counties of Provence and Toulouse; and steadily enforced within the royal domain, the regulation of St. Lewis, which prevented the barons from deciding their differences by private war. On the death of Henry, king of Navarre, he demanded, for his second son Lewis, the only daughter of that prince; and although the treaty of marriage was opposed by the kings of Castile and Arragon, as extending by so valuable an acquisition, the power of France; and Philip himself, for fear of too much alarming the jealousy of his neighbours, had relinquished his first design of procuring the princess for his eldest son; yet supported by the influence of the pope, whose friendship he purchased by the cession of the Venaissin, he triumphed over every obstacle, and the nuptials of his son were followed by his own; he bestowed his hand on Mary, the daughter of the duke of Brabant, esteemed one of the most beautiful princesses of the age.

Although Philip was desirous of
A. D. 1274. cultivating peace, he was not intimidated by the sound of war. To maintain the former he yielded the country of Agenois to Edward the First, king of England; and he engaged in the latter to support the pretensions of his nephews, the infants de le Gerda, to the throne of Castile. Alphonso, who ruled that kingdom, had

had transferred the succession from the offspring of his eldest son, the deceased husband of Blanch, the sister of Philip, to his second and surviving son Sancho. Philip himself had endeavoured to establish a right to the crown of Castile; but his own claim was lost in the injustice offered to his sister's son; and the party of the youthful prince was seconded by the arms of France. From the prosecution of a war, languid and uninteresting, the attention of Philip was recalled to his own domestic calamities, and the more immediate danger of the House of Anjou.

At the age of twelve years, Lewis, the eldest son of the king, suddenly expired; and the suspicion of poison was attached to the uncommon manner of his death. A.D. 1275. Peter la Brosse, a minion of fortune, who from the post of surgeon to the king had attained that of minister, and governed with absolute power the mind of his master, was jealous of the increasing influence of a young and beautiful queen. He artfully insinuated the enmity of Mary to her son-in-law; and the monarch, for a moment, regarded with a doubtful eye the innocence of his consort. The superstition of the age induced Philip to consult a nun, who professed or believed herself inspired; the answer was fatal to La Brosse. His enemies seized the favourable opportunity to accuse him

of a treasonable correspondence with the king of Castile, and he was condemned to atone for his crimes by a violent death. But the secret manner of his trial, the insulting presence of the queen's brother, the duke of Brabant, at his execution, turned the tide of popular favour; and the king could not seclude himself from the loud and general clamour, which arraigned the sentence of La Brosse, and impeached the innocence of Mary.

A. D. 1280, 1284. Charles of Anjou had established his authority over Naples and Sicily; and his throne could only be shaken by his own ambition and cruelty: The former awakened the fears of Michael Palæologus, the emperor of the Greeks; the latter excited the indignation and revolt of his Italian subjects. Naples, indeed, was awed by the presence of a sovereign whom she feared and hated; but Sicily was roused to freedom by the eloquence of John, of Procida, an exile of noble birth, daring courage, and consummate art. The councils of the conspirators were nursed by the gold of Palæologus; and the same moment informed Charles, that in a promiscuous massacre, which obtained the name of the SICILIAN VESPERS, eight thousand of the French had perished, and that Peter, king of Arragon, had sailed to Palermo, and was saluted as the king and saviour of the island. Charles was
astonished

astonished and confounded at the rebellion of a people, whom he had long trampled on with impunity; and in the agony of grief, was heard to exclaim, "O God! if thou hast decreed to humble me, grant me at least a gentle and gradual descent from the pinnacle of greatness." But whatever might be his confidence in the aid of heaven, his earthly measures were taken with vigour and promptitude: A powerful armament was assembled at Marseilles; the siege of Messina was pressed with incessant ardour; the inhabitants in vain deplored their rashness, and offered, on an assurance of pardon, to open their gates to their offended sovereign. With the return of prosperity, Charles had resumed his former inflexibility; but while he sailed to Marseilles, to hasten, with the succours of France, the destruction of his enemies, his hopes of vengeance were blasted by one fatal and irreparable action. His son Charles, surnamed the Lamé, was left in Sicily with orders patiently to await the arrival of his father: But the youth, provoked by the insults of the fleet of Arragon, hazarded an engagement, which delivered him a prisoner into the hands of his foes. Charles in vain endeavoured to disguise, by an appearance of fortitude, the effects of this mortal blow; his feelings as a king and a father were too deeply wounded; from

X 4

despair

despair and sorrow, he sunk into the grave; and the island of Sicily, after a war of twenty years, was finally severed from the throne of Naples; and transferred, as an independent kingdom, to a younger branch of the House of Arragon.

A. D. 1283, 1285. Pope Martin the Fourth, zealous in the cause of Charles, the former champion of the court of Rome, and asserting the unbounded right of the successors of St. Peter, had excommunicated Pedro, king of Arragon, and bestowed his sceptre, with the approbation of Philip, on Charles of Valois, a younger son of the king of France. That monarch, to maintain the authority of his uncle, and to establish the pretensions of his son, had penetrated into Catalonia, and laid siege to Gironne. In endeavouring to intercept a convoy of the besiegers, Pedro himself was mortally wounded; and Gironne, hopeless of succour, and dismayed by the fate of her sovereign, surrendered. Yet the prosperity of Philip was soon overcast; his fleet was again defeated by that of Arragon, and the same element overwhelmed the hopes of the uncle and the nephew. Shame and disappointment preyed upon the mind of Philip; the progress of disease was forwarded by the cares of royalty; the splendid and specious projects which had so fatally deluded him, vanished from his sight; and he beheld in
the

the visionary enterprize, his treasures wasted, his subjects slaughtered, and his dominions exhausted. The fatigues of war, the sultry heat of the climate, were not so injurious as his own reflections: Harrassed by the pursuit of his enemies, and unable to bear the motion of a horse, he arrived in a litter at Perpignan, where he expired, in the forty-first year of his age, and the sixteenth year of his reign, regretted by an army which he had unsuccessfully commanded, and lamented by a people whom he had reluctantly impoverished.

Philip the Fourth, whose personal A. D. attractions acquired him the name of 1285, 1291. *Fair*, when he ascended the throne of his father was about seventeen years of age; and found himself with an empty treasury and feeble army, engaged in a war with his neighbours of Castile and Arragon. He was crowned at Rheims, with his consort Joanna, who in her own right was also queen of Navarre; and who with her hand had bestowed on her husband the important counties of Champagne and Brie: Yet this increase of influence and territory was scarce sufficient to extricate him from the continual embarrassments of his reign. By abandoning the interests of the infants de le Cerda, he adjusted the dispute with Castile; and the terms of peace between the crowns of Arragon and France were settled by the

the mediation of Edward the First, of England. At the intercession of the English monarch, Charles the Lame was released from his captivity; part of his ransom was paid by the generosity of Edward himself; and Charles consented to renounce his claim to Sicily, and to prevail on his namesake of Valois to withdraw his pretensions to Arragon; pretensions which were only founded on the frantic liberality of an enraged pope, and which the brother of the king of France readily exchanged for the eldest daughter of Charles the Lame, and the princely dowry of the extensive counties of Anjou and Maine.

The general tranquillity which these treaties had promoted, was soon interrupted by a succession of wars and political differences with Edward the First, king of England; with pope Boniface the Eighth; and with Guy de Dampier, count of Flanders. And that the reader may more clearly comprehend the origin and event of each transaction, it will be necessary to review them distinct and separate.

A. D. Philip, in consequence of a treaty
1293, 1303. between Lewis the Ninth and Henry the Third, had ceded to Edward the county of Saintonge; the friendly inclinations of the English monarch had been displayed in his mediation between Arragon and France; and on a visit
to

to Paris, he had yielded homage to Philip for the dominions he held under that crown. This promise of permanent amity was blasted by an incident, trifling in itself but considerable in its consequences; and which serves to display the general appetite for revenge which actuated in that age every description of men, and urged them, on any provocation, to seek redress by immediate retaliation on the aggressors. A Norman and an English vessel met off the coast of Bayonne, and both having occasion to water, the crews they detached, met at the same spring. A quarrel ensued for the preference; and a Norman drawing his dagger, attempted to stab an Englishman, but fell, as it was pretended, by his own weapon. In the dispute between the seamen, the two nations were soon involved. The Norman mariners carried their complaints to the throne of Philip; and the French monarch, without descending to enquiry, authorised them to vindicate their own injuries. This expression was the signal of mutual violence; and the sea became a scene of piracy and barbarity between the two nations. The sovereigns, without either seconding or repressing the violence of their subjects, seemed a long time to remain indifferent spectators. With the English, sided the Irish and Dutch seamen; and with the French, those of Flanders and Genoa. A bloody and obstinate

stinate war was kindled at sea, and so numerous were the fleets fitted out to avenge this act of private hostility, that in one engagement fifteen thousand of the French are reported to have perished.

The loss of his people awakened the public attention of Philip; and the inclination of Edward to avoid extremities was construed by the former monarch into pusillanimity. The king of England was summoned to attend as the vassal of France; and on his refusal to obey, his estates in that kingdom were declared forfeited. After a variety of negotiations, it was insinuated that Philip conceived his honour interested by the outrages of the inhabitants of Guienne; that the nominal cession of that province would alone efface the insult; but he engaged, as soon as it was delivered into his hands, to restore it to the king of England. Edward, embarrassed with the Scotch, and anxious for peace, fell into the snare; and the king of France no sooner found himself possessed of Guienne, than he threw off the mask, and persevered in the sentence he had procured against his rival. The forms of a court of justice might sanction the proceedings of Philip in the eyes of the undiscerning multitude, but it was only by arms the differences of the rival monarchs could be decided. Edward, enraged at finding him-
self

self thus egregiously duped, endeavoured, by extending his alliances, to deprive Philip of the fruits of his perfidy. He concluded a treaty with the emperor Adolphus, and he allured to his side the counts of Brittany, Holland, Bar, Juliers, Guelders, and Flanders. Yet even this powerful confederacy served rather to distress his finances, than advance his progress in Guienne: Adolphus, while he loudly demanded considerable subsidies, tardily furnished the assistance he had stipulated. Philip had closely connected himself with Scotland, and laid the foundation, by his treaty with John Baliol, of that union which was preserved between the two nations for successive centuries. The town of Dover was destroyed by a predatory descent of the French; and Edward to avenge the insult, landed in Gascony with an army of fifty thousand English. The forces of the competitors, nearly balanced, inclined both to peace; a suspension of hostilities was agreed on for two years, and the war was finally concluded by the mediation of pope Boniface the Eighth. Guienne was restored to Edward, who espoused Margaret, the sister of Philip; and Isabella, the daughter of that monarch, bestowed her hand on the prince of Wales. Each king, with mutual perfidy, abandoned their allies; and while John, king of Scotland, was exposed to the resentment of Edward,

ward, Guy, earl of Flanders, was relinquished to the indignation of Philip.

A. D. 1298, 1310. When the rival monarchs had appointed Boniface the judge of their differences, sensible of the encroaching temper of the Roman pontiff, they inserted in the reference that he was selected as a private man, and not as the successor to the chair of St. Peter. That pontiff had early displayed a degree of pride which alarmed his contemporaries, and the king of France was first doomed to experience the effects of his spiritual ambition. He presumed to forbid the clergy to grant any subsidies to that prince, without first obtaining leave from the holy see, under pain of excommunication. In return, Philip prohibited any ecclesiastics, without his license, from sending money out of the realm; and while the Roman pontiff assailed him with spiritual arms, he openly protected the Colonnas, the implacable enemies of Boniface. The haughty prelate, after descending to the lowest abuse, and stigmatizing Philip in his letter with the opprobrious name of Fool, summoned to a council at Rome, the clergy of France; while Philip retaliated, by seizing the temporalities of those who attended, and recalling his brother Charles of Valois, who acted as, and enjoyed the title of, the pope's general. Sensible however of the mis-

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taken zeal of a superstitious age, before the minds of his people could be impressed with the sacred dread of a contest with the holy father, he determined to prevent the danger by the boldness of his own measures. Two of his emissaries, dispatched under the pretence of conciliating these differences by the efficacious application of gold, employed the money in privately levying a sufficient force, and suddenly invested Boniface in Anagnia, the town of his birth and residence. Corrupted by the liberality of the besiegers, the inhabitants opened their gates, and joined in seizing the person of the pope, at the moment the Bull was actually prepared to excommunicate the king, and release his people from their allegiance. Yet the tide of popular favour soon turned, and the fickle citizens, who had betrayed Boniface, pitied his distress, rescued him from his guards, and escorted him to Rome, where he soon expired, the victim of shame and disappointed rage.

Benedict the Eleventh succeeded Boniface in the apostolic chair; and desirous of recovering Philip to the duty he owed to his spiritual father by lenient means, he revoked the excommunication which his predecessor had fulminated against him. Yet this moderation was but ill calculated to please an haughty and implacable faction, eager to aggrandize the power of the church; and

and the sudden and premature death of Benedict has been imputed to poison. The choice of the Conclave for several months was suspended by the intrigues of the candidates, and the cardinals of Italy and France. The former, at length, consented to name three, out of whom the latter might select the future pope: Of these, Bertrand, archbishop of Bourdeaux, was one; and Philip offered to procure him the vacant see, provided he would engage to condemn the memory of Boniface, restore the honours and estates of the Colonnas, allow him for five years the tenths of the clergy of France, and agree to comply with a request which at that time it was not prudent for him to divulge. The terms were accepted; and Bertrand assumed the name of Clement the Fifth. In his return from church at Lyons, his horse was led successively by the king of France, his brothers, the counts of Valois and Evreux, and the duke of Brittany: But the procession nearly proved fatal to Clement himself, and his princely attendants; a wall gave way beneath the pressure and weight of the spectators; the duke of Brittany was killed; the king and the count of Valois were considerably bruised, and the pope narrowly escaped, his tiara being beaten off. The new pontiff fixed his residence at Avignon; and although he punctually complied with the rest of the conditions

ditions which had been described, he positively refused to condemn, and after an appearance of enquiry, solemnly vindicated the character and conduct of Boniface.

One condition yet remained within the bosom of the monarch; it was revealed by the death of the emperor Albert of Austria: The ambition of Philip aspired to place his brother Charles of Valois on the imperial throne. Clement, sensible of the danger of being thus surrounded by the connections of Philip, and early apprised of his intentions, eluded without rejecting the request: In the strongest terms he urged the electors to choose an emperor without delay, and pointed to Henry of Luxemburgh as worthy of their voices. Before the king of France could arrive at Avignon, he was informed the election was over; but he found some consolation in re-uniting the city of Lyons to the crown of France, which hitherto had only acknowledged the independent authority of its archbishop, and which now yielded to the liberal promises and formidable arms of Philip.

In the treaty with Edward of Eng- A. D.
land, Guy, earl of Flanders, was ex- 1299, 1314.
cepted, and abandoned to the resentment or rapacity of the king of France. The Flemings, possessed of the advantages of commerce, were
VOL. I, Y rich,

rich, fickle, and turbulent; impatient of the government of their counts, their intrigues invited, their discontents promoted, the arms of France. Charles Valois, at the head of a powerful army, soon reduced Guy de Dampier to throw himself on the mercy of the king; but the count obtained a promise, that neither his own, nor the freedom of his sons should be violated; and if in the space of a year he could not compromise his differences with Philip, he should be at liberty to retire, and pursue whatever measures he might deem expedient. To gratify the enmity of his consort to his noble captive, Philip was prevailed on to disavow the treaty, and mortally to wound his brother's honour and his own: The count, with two of his sons, were closely imprisoned; the king of France entering Flanders in triumph, was received by the acclamations of the inhabitants; and appointed John de Chatillon, a relation of his queen, a man bold and penetrating, but at the same time haughty and oppressive, the governor of his new acquisitions.

The Flemings, intent on trade alone, had neglected the internal defence of their country; their towns were rich and populous, but their fortifications had been suffered gradually to decay: These were repaired by the activity of Chatillon, and citadels were erected to bridle the future levity of the

the inhabitants. But the poverty of the times allowed not the monarch to maintain regular garrisons; and the private murmurs of the people at Bruges and Ghent broke out into open insurrections. The first sparks were extinguished by the vigilance of the magistrates; but the flame was re-kindled by the presence of Chatillon, who entered Bruges with seventeen hundred horse, and insultingly displayed two hogsheds of ropes, the instruments of the executions he impatiently meditated. The people whom he had devoted to destruction took their measures with speed and secrecy; the danger was instant, their determinations were unanimous; in one moment they rose, and fifteen hundred French were exterminated; while Chatillon himself only escaped by swimming, under cover of the night, the town-ditch. Three sons of Guy, who had sheltered themselves in Namur from the lawless ambition of Philip, were re-called by the Flemings; and at the head of sixty thousand insurgents, pressed the siege of Courtray. The count of Artois, on whom Philip had devolved the command of the French, with a numerous army, determined, contrary to the advice of the constable, the count de Nesle, to attack them in their intrenchments: He was the victim of his own rashness; and the constable was involved in the same fate, with above twenty

thousand of their troops. Philip, enraged at this second disaster, to raise a new force debased his coin; and having exerted every effort, entered Flanders with a host superior to resistance. But Edward, who beheld with concern the danger of his allies, artfully imparted, as a secret, to his queen, a feigned correspondence of the nobles of France with the hostile court of Rome: Margaret communicated the intelligence to her brother Philip; and the king, distrustful of the fidelity of his army, retired without performing any thing worthy his preparations or reputation.

The gallies of Genoa in the pay of France, in conjunction with those of Hainault, obtained a victory over the fleet of the Flemings; and the king, in hopes of improving this advantage by the arts of negociation, released the old count of Flanders, that he might persuade his subjects to submission: But his arguments were ineffectual; and he honourably returned to expire, at the age of fourscore years, a prisoner in Compeigne. Philip himself, his brothers the counts of Valois and Evreux, with the flower of French chivalry, re-entered Flanders, and approached the Flemish army at Mons. The Flemings were commanded by three sons of their count; but in the hour of action, the chief authority was yielded to the military experience of one only, whose name was

Philip.

Philip. Their camp was hastily fortified with their carriages; and animated by the love of freedom, they sallied forth with impetuous valour: They were repulsed and driven back by the veteran courage of the French, with fatal slaughter; yet far from yielding to despair, they renewed the attempt, favoured by the darkness of the night, and even penetrated to the tent of the king, who escaped their sword with difficulty: But the French were rallied by the example and conduct of their nobles; the Flemings were again compelled to retire, and to abandon their camp with precipitation. Philip of Flanders threw himself into Lisle, which was immediately invested by the king of France, in hopes of terminating the war by the capture of that place. The garrison had already consented to surrender, unless relieved within a certain time; but when the king least expected, he was surprised by the appearance of John of Namur at the head of sixty thousand men, undisciplined indeed, but daring and desperate. The king, doubtful of the event, consented to release Robert de Bethune, the eldest son of the count of Flanders; to receive his homage for the county; to accept of eight hundred thousand livres as an indemnification for the expences of the war, for the payment of which sum he was to retain Lisle, Douay, and Bethune. The treaty was again vio-

lated by Philip, towards the conclusion of his reign; but his hopes of annexing the valuable fief of Flanders to the crown of France, were baffled by the steadiness of the Flemings and the interposition of the pope; and the acquisition of Courtray was the only fruit of an enterprize which exhausted the resources and alienated the minds of his subjects.

During the progress of the war, the attention of Europe had been excited by a criminal process against the Knights Templars. This honourable Order had extended their possessions throughout every kingdom, and their immense revenues enabled them to support a royal magnificence. In France they were accused of every species of sensual luxury which degrades human nature; and the doubtful evidence of two criminals, who obtained their forfeited lives from the secrets they affected to reveal, was strengthened by the confession of the Templars themselves. Yet these soon retracted their declarations; and asserted, that the stain which they had fixed on their own reputation was extorted by the menace of impending destruction. Without the form of trial, their estates were confiscated, and above fifty suffered death with unshaken constancy. The grand master with three great officers, were, in the presence of the king himself, consumed by a slow
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fire;

fire; and maintained in their last moments the purity of their conduct. Their firmness commanded the belief of the people; and the avarice of Philip rather appears to have been gratified than the justice of the monarch to have been consulted by their hasty condemnation.

From the fate of these unhappy victims, and his vain enterprises against the Flemings, the thoughts of Philip were directed to the cares and miseries of domestic life; the shame and disorders of his own family could not be concealed from his knowledge and observation: His eldest son Lewis, who enjoyed the title of king of Navarre, had espoused Margaret, the daughter of the duke of Burgundy; his two younger sons, Philip and Charles, had married Jane and Blanch, the offspring of Otho, count of Burgundy. But public report loudly impeached the reputation of each princess; and all three were accused of violating the honour of their husbands, and staining the purity of the marriage-bed by their lascivious amours. After a severe examination, Margaret and Blanch were condemned to expiate their licentious conduct by perpetual imprisonment; and their paramours, the brothers Philip and Walter de Launay, severely atoned for the transports of illicit love: After suffering the torment of being flayed alive, they were suspended with an usher of

the chamber, the confident of their amours, on a public gibbet.

The constitution of Philip might have been impaired by a reign of continual activity; but his life was the victim of incessant chagrin and disappointment. The silent progress of a consumption was accelerated by the pang of domestic vexation: The powers of medicine were exhausted, and even the salubrious air of Fontainebleau could not delay the rapid approach of death; in the thirtieth year of his reign, and the forty-seventh year of his age, Philip expired, in the sentiments of penitence and piety, and with his last breath exhorting his successor to avoid the errors which had embarrassed his own administration. Though avarice and cruelty have cast a shade over his talents and virtues, yet the vigour which he displayed in his contest with Boniface the Eighth, and the success with which he resisted the formidable thunders of the vatican, are sufficient to balance the misfortunes which constantly attended his ambitious wars with Flanders.

Chapter the Eleventh.

REIGN OF LEWIS THE TENTH, SURNAMED THE BOISTEROUS; — IS SUCCEEDED BY PHILIP THE LONG. — EXPEDITION INTO ITALY. — EXECUTION OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS. — DEATH OF PHILIP THE LONG. — ACCESSION OF CHARLES THE FAIR. — CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND, AND MURDER OF EDWARD THE SECOND. — CHARLES ASPIRES TO THE IMPERIAL CROWN OF GERMANY. — HIS DISAPPOINTMENT AND DEATH.

THE throne of France, on the death of Philip, was occupied by his son Lewis the Tenth, surnamed the *Boisterous*, A.D. 1314. from the rude promise of his infant years. His first queen, Margaret, had been strangled by the command of her husband, in the prison of Chateau-Gaillard; and he endeavoured to forget the vices of a licentious woman in his nuptials with Clemence, the daughter of the king of Hungary. An empty treasury delayed for some time the ceremony of their coronation; and the king diligently

gently applied himself to conciliate the jealousies and appease the discontents of his new subjects: In this he was seconded by his uncle Charles of Valois, on whom he afterwards entirely devolved the reins of government.

The first victim to the resentment of Charles
 A. D. 1315, 1316. was Enguerrand de Poitiers de Marigni, a nobleman of Norman extraction, who with the administration of the finances, possessed the confidence of the late monarch. He was accused by the count of Valois as the author of the national distress, and the source of the royal necessities. The warmth with which he vindicated his character ensured the eternal enmity of Charles; and the shameful sentence, in consequence of which he perished on a gibbet, might warn future ministers how they provoked that implacable and powerful prince. The fortunes of Marigni were confiscated to the use of the sovereign; but these were scarcely sufficient to defray the coronation which was celebrated at Rheims; and as much as they fell short of the public expectation, so much did they contribute to establish the innocence of the unfortunate Enguerrand. Far different supplies were necessary for the support of a war with Flanders, which Lewis already meditated: Every species of extortion was devised and practised to plunder the subjects

subjects of France; and by the oppression of his people, Lewis raised an army which might have secured the subjection of the Flemings, already enfeebled by the attacks of famine. But Robert de Bethune, count of Flanders, unable to withstand, prudently determined to bend before the storm: By the specious language of submission he involved the king in a series of fruitless negotiations, till the season of action was passed; he then dropped the mask which he had assumed, and on the retreat of the French surprised Courtray, which he had yielded as a pledge of his sincerity. While Lewis, indignant of the arts of his adversary, revolved new preparations and more formidable hostilities, his designs were interrupted by death; after drinking a glass of cold water, and not without the suspicion of poison from the surviving friends of Marigni, he expired in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and the second year of his reign; leaving by his first wife, Margaret, who had been crowned queen of Navarre, an only daughter, and his widow Clemence in a state of pregnancy.

Immediately on his death, Charles, count of Valois, seized the Louvre, and prepared to dispute the regency with the brothers of his late sovereign. The eldest of these, Philip, count of Poictou, was engaged at Lyons, where

A.D. 1316.

where a conclave was held for the election of a successor to the vacant apostolical chair. It was not till a month after the decease of his brother, that he was able to terminate the intrigues of the cardinals, and to pursue his more immediate concerns in Paris. During his absence, his pretensions had been supported by the constable, the count of Eyreux, who opposed the frantic ambition of his brother Charles of Valois; and the hopes of that turbulent prince vanished on the appearance of Philip, and the unanimous acclamations of the citizens. Although the regency was thus happily settled, a harder task remained in determining the succession: The claim of the princess Joanna, the daughter of Lewis and Margaret, was urged by Charles, count of Marche, the younger brother of the late king and of the present regent, by Eudes, duke of Burgundy, and by the counts of Valois and Evreux, who seemed to consider the kingdom as a great fief: But the majority alleged, that the greatest part of France consisted of Salic lands, which a daughter was debarred from inheriting, and that the succession to the realm ought to be regulated in the same manner. The prospects of Philip were transiently clouded by Clemence being delivered of a son, who survived only three weeks, but who, under the name of John the First, has been enrolled among the kings of France.

The

The death of this infant established A. D.
Philip, who from his lofty stature at 1317, 1319.
tained the surname of *Long*, on the throne of
France. During his short regency he had displayed the important qualities of vigour and valour in a war with Robert, count of Artois, undertaken to support Matilda, countess of Artois, the mother of his consort. To acquire the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, with the county of that name he bestowed upon him the hand of his eldest daughter; and gained his uncle, the count of Evreux, by promising in marriage to his son the infant queen of Navarre; while the count of Marche was soon disposed to concur in the elevation of his brother and the exclusion of the female line, which opened to his own ambition the road to royalty.

The frank professions and moderate A. D. 1320.
measures of Philip, reconciled his subjects to his government, and extinguished the rising sparks of sedition: The Flemings, convinced of the rectitude of his intentions, and terrified by the thunders of the vatican, compelled their count, Robert, to subscribe a fair and equitable peace. Philip summoned Edward the Second, who had succeeded to the throne of England, to yield him homage for his possessions in France; but that monarch was unwilling to quit a kingdom

dom distracted by contending factions and the ambition of his consort, and his excuses were accepted by the moderation of Philip. But the judgment of the king of France was clouded by the fumes of enthusiasm: In the life-time of his father he had taken the cross; and his subjects had reason to lament the diligence with which he endeavoured to replenish his coffers, that he might fulfil the romantic vow. From the execution of it he was dissuaded by pope John the Twenty-second: The interest of the court of Rome and Italy in general, called for the powerful mediation of the king of France; and an army commanded by Philip, count of Mans, and son of Charles Valois, entered the country, to reconcile the two factions, which raged with eternal enmity, under the names of Guelfs and Ghibelines. These, during the contests of pope Gregory the Eighth and the emperor Henry the Fourth, had arisen in Germany; and for successive centuries they divided and distracted the different states of Italy. The Guelfs supported the pretensions of the pope, the Ghibelines the rights of the emperor; but the count of Mans was persuaded to retreat by the promises of Gallas de Visconti, lord of Milan and the chief of the Ghibelines, without contributing to the influence of the Roman pontiff, or to his own reputation or glory.

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The disgraceful event of this expedition was lost in a contagious disorder, which swept off myriads of the inhabitants of France. The wild fancies of the age impressed the people with an idea that the Jews had conspired with the Saracens to poison the springs and fountains; and that the former had devolved the execution of the visionary treachery on an unfortunate race of men infected with the leprosy, a disease common at that time, and probably the consequence of bad diet. On these chimerical imputations, numbers of the lepers who lived by themselves in hospitals richly endowed were burnt alive; and the Jews were abandoned to the undiscerning rage of the populace, who insulted their persons and plundered their houses with wanton impunity and rapacity.

The prudence of Philip, when mistaken zeal biassed not his opinions, was ever employed in concerting the real happiness of his people; he attempted to complete a design begun by his predecessors, and to establish a certain standard for the coin, the weights, and the measures throughout France. From the counts of Valois, Clermont, and Bourbon, he purchased their claims of coinage within their own dominions; but though he carefully explained the benefits which must arise to France in general from persevering

persevering in this undertaking, he found himself continually embarrassed by new and unexpected obstacles. A report was industriously circulated, that, to surmount these, he intended to levy a fifth on every man's estate; and the public discontent was increased by the disaffection of the clergy, whom the king by a law had excluded from sitting in parliament. The mind of Philip was too sensibly wounded by the injurious suspicions of his subjects; he beheld his honest endeavours productive of jealousy and disappointment; the violence of a fever only gave way to the mortal ravages of a dysentery; and after languishing for about five months, in the sixth year of his reign, and the twenty-eighth year of his age, he closed a life of unsuccessful virtue. The historians of a credulous age have not failed to attribute his death to poison; but they all agree in acknowledging that he constantly merited, though he never could acquire, the esteem and affection of his subjects.

A. D. 1322, 1323. The tardy acquiescence of Charles the Fourth in the exclusion of the female line and the succession of the deceased monarch, was rewarded with the crown of France, and he ascended the throne with the surname of *Fair*. The duke of Burgundy, who had married the eldest daughter of Philip the *Long*, was the first

first to yield him homage; but he at the same time ineffectually urged the claim of his consort to the county of Poictou, which had been possessed by her father before he attained to royal greatness: The parliament of France determined that county had only been granted by Philip the Fair to his son and his heirs male, and declared the pretensions of the duke of Burgundy groundless. The next concern which engaged the attention of Charles was to dissolve his marriage with Blanch of Burgundy, who for her irregularities was still confined in the prison of Chateau-Gaillard: The convenient pretence of consanguinity enabled the court of Rome to gratify his inclinations; and the king bestowed his hand on Mary, the daughter of Henry, emperor of Germany.

The sceptre of England was at this time held by the feeble hand of Edward the Second, whose queen Isabella was the sister of Charles. Some differences between the two kingdoms induced the latter to summon the former personally to appear in his court, and do homage for the fiefs which he held in France; but the favourite of the king of England, a young man of the name of Spenser, of high rank and of a noble family, had already provoked the enmity of Isabella; he was therefore unwilling to attend his master to Paris, and expose himself in a court

A. D.

1324, 1327.

where the credit of that princess might be dangerous to him; still less was he inclined to hazard the absence of the easy and fickle king: At length he embraced an expedient, which seemed contrived to remove all difficulties, but which proved fatal to his own authority and life. Edward resigned to his eldest son, of the same name, and then only thirteen years of age, the dominion of Guienne; and with his mother that prince set out for Paris, to perform the ceremony of homage to his superior lord. But Isabella, on her arrival in France, drew to her side the English fugitives, the common enemies of Spenser and of her husband: Among these the most considerable was Roger Mortimer, a powerful baron of the Welch Marches, who had escaped from a sentence of perpetual imprisonment, and was distinguished by his superior animosity to the minister; he was easily admitted to pay his court to the queen, and his person and address soon commanded her affections. To her passion she sacrificed every sentiment of honour and virtue; and the moment she had injured Edward, her contempt for him was changed into implacable hatred. The prince was already in the power of the royal adulterers and her paramour; the court of Isabella was daily swelled by the accession of exiled nobles; a correspondence was secretly carried on with the malcontent party in England;

England; and when Edward required the return of his wife and son, the queen indignantly answered, that she would never set her foot in the kingdom till Spenser was for ever removed from his presence and councils.

In the transient hostilities between France and England, the celebrated count of Valois, the uncle of the king, had successfully invaded Guienne, and closed a life of turbulent ambition under the pressure of an uncommon disease, which baffled the skill of the physicians; his last breath was devoted to repentance, and he incessantly expressed his contrition for the injury he had offered to the unfortunate Marigni. Before he closed his eyes, a truce had been agreed upon between England and France; but the king was still actuated by the spirit of his uncle, and was eager to take advantage of the weakness of Edward and the dissensions of his family; but he was at the same time sensible that his conduct was strictly watched by the pope and the neighbouring princes; he had already consented to receive the homage of the young Edward, and no pretence any longer remained for openly supporting the party of his sister. Isabella and her son were commanded to retire from the dominions of France; but she had already affianced her son to Philippa, the daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault: His ter-

ritories offered a secure asylum; the open aid of the count, and the private assistance of her brother Charles, enabled her to raise a force of near three thousand men: With this she sailed from Dort, landed without opposition on the coast of Suffex, and soon found herself at the head of a formidable army. The feeble forces of the royalists were incapable of stemming the torrent; Spenser was condemned without trial, and ignominiously perished on a gibbet; and the unfortunate king himself, after the indignity of a formal deposition and a short confinement, fell a victim in Berkeley castle to his unfeeling and lascivious consort, and the ruthless ambition of the impatient Mortimer.

Whatever assistance Charles might privately have afforded to his sister, whatever was his secret satisfaction at her success, he publicly affected to arraign her conduct; and during the life of Edward the Second, would never acknowledge the royal title of his son. With more honour and justice he had concurred with his parliament in supporting the claims of Lewis de Bethune to the succession and titles of his grandfather Robert, count of Flanders, Nevers, and Rhetel, in opposition to the pretensions of the uncle of Lewis and the younger son of Robert, who had endeavoured to oppress his nephew. But the important object of the ambition of Charles, which occupied his

his thoughts and inflamed his hopes, was the imperial diadem of Germany: From the decline of the race of Charlemagne it had constantly been separated from the crown of France; and the present monarch was ardently desirous of re-uniting the long-lost dignity. In his marriage he had connected himself in that expectation with Henry of Luxemburgh; and a favourable opportunity seemed now to present itself of attaining the height of mortal grandeur. The imperial dignity had been disputed by Lewis of Bavaria, A. D. 1325, 1328. and by Frederick of Austria; and the former, in a successful field of battle, had rendered himself master of the person of the latter: But his victory could not subdue the inflexible hatred of pope John the Twenty-second; and the Roman pontiff, fruitful in intrigue, summoned new enemies from every quarter to disturb the tranquillity of his reign. The spiritual thunders of excommunication were hurled against the head of Lewis; and the execution of the sentence of the successor of St. Peter was entrusted to the arm of Leopold of Austria, the brother of the vanquished and imprisoned Frederick. To strengthen this confederacy, the king of France was allured by the promise of the imperial spoils of the Bavarian; and Frederick was to resign to him the pretensions which he himself had so unpropitiously asserted.

ferted. Lewis was not ignorant of, or indifferent to, the storm which was gathering; and he endeavoured to encounter his adversaries with equal arts: By immediately releasing his rival, Frederick, he engaged his grateful friendship, and disarmed his most formidable antagonist. But the pope was not to be diverted from his design by the desertion of so powerful an ally; the hopes of a considerable sum of money secured the perseverance of Leopold; and it was determined that a new council of the electors should be held, to transfer the imperial crown to Charles.

Seduced by these vain promises and flattering expectations, the king of France, with a splendid equipage and a gallant train of nobility, set out for the frontiers of Germany; but he was soon convinced that he followed an airy phantom, which constantly eluded his grasp. Of the various princes who had professed themselves in his interest, the avarice of Leopold alone secured his appearance; even the king of Bohemia absented himself with an indifference similar to the rest; and the death of his sister Mary, the queen of France, dissolved the engagements which he had entered into with that crown.

A fall had proved fatal to Mary and the hopes which Charles had derived from her pregnancy: Solicitous to establish by male heirs the peaceable
I succession

succession of the crown, on the death of his consort he raised to the royal bed his cousin-german, Joanna, daughter to Lewis, count of Evreux; yet anticipating the calamities which afterwards afflicted his kingdom, he endeavoured by every alliance to avert the impending tempest. In his treaty with Robert, king of Scotland, he had inserted an article, that in case either monarch should die without an heir apparent, the states of the kingdom should fill the vacant throne, and the other king should support with his whole force the legality of their nomination against the pretensions of any competitor. But even these precautions were too weak to restrain the enterprises of inordinate ambition; and the vigilance of the monarch, though thus incessantly displayed, was insufficient to protect his subjects from the miseries to which they were destined.

Charles, on the death of Edward the Second, had summoned his son and successor, Edward the Third, to yield him homage for the lands which he held in France: But in conformity with the general moderation of his government, he accepted as an excuse the unsettled state of that monarch's affairs; and equally inclined to propitiate the princes of the blood, he bestowed on Lewis, the grandson of Lewis the Ninth, the county of Marche, in exchange for

Clermont, and erected into a dukedom his barony of Bourbon. The gradual decay of his health announced his approaching dissolution, and he expired in the seventh year of his reign and the thirty-fourth year of his age, leaving his queen pregnant: When on his death-bed reminded of settling the succession, he answered, that if his consort was delivered of a daughter, that important care belonged to the parliament.

As the character of Charles was not distinguished by eminent virtues, it also appears to have been devoid of any unworthy vices: His zeal for justice was steady yet temperate; and he punished the daring outrages of Jourdain de Lisle, a powerful nobleman of Aquitain, without regard to his wealth, his birth, or his marriage with the niece of pope John. That turbulent baron had been summoned to answer before the king to eighteen crimes, of which he had been accused; he hesitated not to swell the number by the inhuman murder of the officer who had been directed to cite him: Yet vain of his alliance with the Roman pontiff, he had the imprudence soon after to enter the court of that sovereign, whose justice he had braved, and whose dignity he had so dangerously wounded: The king commanded him instantly to be arrested, and sentenced him to the ignominy of a public execution, the just reward of his atrocious guilt.

From Hugh Capet to Lewis the Boisterous, the crown of France had descended from father to son for eleven generations; and the successive reigns of the different monarchs had all contributed to extend their dominions and authority: They had shaken off their servile dependence on the clergy, they had reduced the exorbitant power of the nobility, and had established the royal revenue on a more certain and permanent foundation; after near three centuries and a half the immediate posterity of Hugh expired in Charles the Fourth, and the sceptre was placed in the hands of the race of Valois.

Chapter the Twelfth,

ACCESSION OF PHILIP THE SIXTH, SURNAMED THE FORTUNATE, THE FIRST OF THE RACE OF VALOIS.
 —CLAIM OF EDWARD THE THIRD OF ENGLAND.
 —CHARACTER OF ROBERT OF ARTOIS; — OF JAMES D'ARTEVILLE. — WARS BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND. — BATTLE OF CRECY. — SIEGE OF CALAIS. — TRUCE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND. — DEATH OF PHILIP THE SIXTH.

THE male posterity of Philip the Fair was extinguished in Charles the Fourth; and
 A. D. 1328. while the succession depended on the fruit of his widow's pregnancy, the unsettled state of the kingdom demanded a regent. Two competitors appeared for this important trust; and in their pretensions to the regency, urged their claims to the crown. The one was Philip de Valois, cousin-german to the deceased king, being the son of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair; the other was Edward, king of England, who in
 right

right of his mother aspired to the throne of France as the nephew of Charles the Fair. But females had long been excluded by an established opinion which had acquired equal authority with the most express and positive law: It had been recently confirmed in the succession of Philip the Long, in preference to the daughter of Lewis the Tenth; and even had it been admitted, it must have proved fatal to the hopes of Edward, as each of the three last kings had left behind them daughters who were still alive. Under these circumstances, Edward thought proper to abandon the ground of immediate female succession; and to assert, that although his mother Isabella was, on account of her sex, incapable of succeeding, yet he himself, who inherited through her, was liable to no such objection, and might claim by the right of proximity; and that while the weakness of a woman was precluded from ascending the throne of France, the same exclusion did not extend to the manly pretensions of her issue. Yet had this argument been allowed, the prospects of Edward would have been intercepted by Charles, king of Navarre, descended from the daughter of Lewis, surnamed the Boisterous; but they were equally opposed by custom and policy; the claim of Philip de Valois to the regency was unanimously admitted; and on the queen dowager being delivered

delivered of a daughter, he ascended the throne of France with the surname of *Fortunate*.

The coronation of the new monarch was celebrated at Rheims; and among the peers who assisted was Lewis, count of Flanders, persecuted and driven into exile by his subjects for his inviolable attachment to France. The honour and interest of Philip both prompted him to restore him, and the first moments of his reign were employed in levying a powerful army: Accompanied by the king of Navarre, the duke of Burgundy, and the flower of his nobility, he entered Flanders, and found the Flemings strongly entrenched on the side of a steep mountain, with a river in their front, and the town of Cassel in their rear. Their inferior numbers were supplied by their impracticable position; and Philip must have retired equally inglorious with his predecessors, had he not been preserved from so disgraceful a measure by the precipitate valour of the Flemings themselves. On the memorable eve of St. Bartholomew they issued from their works, and attacked the French with an impetuosity as resistless as it was unexpected; they penetrated even to the tent of the king, who escaped with difficulty amidst the general confusion. But his skill and example soon rallied his flying troops, and he severely avenged his danger and disgrace; the Flemings were totally

tally defeated; the town of Cassel was abandoned to the flames; and the subjects of the count of Flanders were compelled, reluctantly, to receive a master whom they regarded with increase of hatred.

Although the pretensions of Edward to the regency had been rejected by the general voice of France, yet Philip A. D.
1329, 1330. could not reflect on the claim of so formidable a rival without a latent spark of jealousy. He had already summoned the English monarch to yield him homage for the lands he held in France; and in consequence of his contemptuous silence had seized his revenues in that kingdom; to obtain the restoration of these, Edward thought proper to pass the seas, and submit to the servile ceremony at Amiens. The spirit of a haughty and gallant youth might have revolted, in a martial age, at appearing bare-headed and without arms or spurs before a prince whose equal he considered himself; and the prudence of Philip consented to receive the homage in any form, on condition that it should be afterwards explained in the manner most satisfactory to him. On the return of Edward to England, this explanation was studiously delayed; and Charles, duke of Alençon, the brother of the king of France, entered Guienne, and possessed himself of Sainte. Unwilling to forfeit

feit so rich an inheritance, the king of England sent over a formal deed, in which he acknowledged that he owed liege homage to France; and the flame of enmity between the rival sovereigns would perhaps have been finally extinguished, had it not been fanned by the intrigues of a powerful and discontented subject of France.

Robert of Artois was descended from the blood royal of France, had espoused the sister of Philip, and was still more distinguished by his enterprising capacity than by his birth or alliance. In the late contest for the regency, he had pleaded the cause of Philip with splendid eloquence and successful energy; and in the war with Flanders he added the fame of a soldier and a general to the reputation he had before acquired of an orator and a statesman. He had already been gratified with several marks of royal favour; but he found although Philip was inclined to reward a servant, he was too prudent to create a master: He had lost the county of Artois, which he claimed as his birthright, by a sentence commonly deemed iniquitous, of Philip the Fair; and he was now tempted to recover it by means unworthy of his rank and character. The written evidences which he produced to support his claim were, on inspection, discovered to be forged; and the detection of this crime covered him with shame and confusion.

confusion. The king of France, his brother-in-law, with an honourable indignation not only abandoned him, but prosecuted him with violence. From the disgrace and punishment which impended over him, Robert escaped to Brabant; and driven thence by the menaces of Philip, with the wealth which he had amassed he passed over to England. He was received with respect and regard by Edward; nor could the repeated remonstrances of the French king exclude him from the councils and the confidence of the English monarch. Perhaps the favour of Edward towards Robert of Artois was first suggested by the resentment with which he beheld David Bruce, who had fled from the sword of his competitor, Baliol, king of Scotland, partially entertained by the court of France; and the suspicion that Philip, by his secret practices, still encouraged the Scots in their struggles for independence. But the arts of Robert soon revived in the mind of his new patron his former pretensions to the crown of France; and the flattering prospect which was presented to his view by the specious colouring of an enraged exile, was regarded by Edward with boundless hope and expectation.

From this instant both princes, re-
linquishing all ideas of peace, industriously prepared for war. Under pretence of unfurling

A. D.

1330, 1337.

furling the holy banner against the infidels, Philip diligently levied new forces, and fitted out a considerable fleet; he attached to his interests the pope, the king of Navarre, the duke of Brittany, and the count of Bar; and fortified himself on the side of Germany with the alliance of the king of Bohemia, the Palatine, the dukes of Lorraine and Austria, the bishop of Liege, the counts of Deuxpont, Vaudemont, and Geneva. On the other hand, Edward was supported by his father-in-law, the count of Hainault; and engaged by large subsidies the dukes of Brabant and Gueldres, the archbishop of Cologne, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namur, and the lords of Fauquemont and Baquen: But his most considerable and important ally was James d'Arteville, a brewer in Ghent.

In the cultivation of arts and manufactures the lower ranks of the Flemings had acquired a degree of independence generally unknown in an age when the common people were almost universally enslaved by the feudal institutions. With the increase of wealth they became more ardent in the pursuit of that freedom, which alone could secure the possession of it: In successive tumultuary conflicts they had insulted their nobles, and driven their earl into exile; but the seditious herd consented to obey the commanding genius of James d'Arteville,

d'Arteville, who governed them with a more absolute sway than had ever been assumed by any of their lawful sovereigns. Constantly accompanied by a guard devoted to his will, his displeasure was the signal of immediate death; the magistrates were entirely dependent on his nod; and every city of Flanders was filled with his spies and adherents. The estates of those whom he had banished or murdered, he converted to his own use; and the few nobles who ventured to remain within the reach of his lawless tyranny, were compelled to propitiate his rage by the most abject submissions. To this arrogant and arbitrary demagogue Edward assiduously applied himself; and the English monarch, naturally haughty and aspiring, courted the friendship and alliance of the Flemish tradesman by every flattering profession that interest could suggest.

A considerable time had been consumed in secret negotiations and war-like preparations; and both sides, impatient of further delay, were ready to enter upon action. Edward with a formidable armament, passed the seas, and landed at Sluys: But two obstacles still remained; the vassals of the empire could not act under the command of Edward without the direction of the emperor, who still maintained the exterior of peace with France; and the Flemings

A.D. 1338.

pretended the same scruples with regard to the invasion of their liege lord. The first was overcome by the emperor Lewis appointing Edward *Vicar of the empire*; an empty honour, but which served to banish the doubts of the German princes: And to obviate the second, Edward, by the advice of James d'Arteville, assumed the title of king of France, and branded Philip de Valois with the name of Usurper. Yet the king of England ventured not on this step without hesitation and reluctance; and his mind seemed filled with too true a presage of the calamities which would ensue to the rival kingdoms from this fatal source of eternal enmity.

After having devoted, to gratify his German allies, a few moments in the fruitless siege of Cambray, Edward advanced towards the frontiers of France; and was soon convinced of the difficulties he must contend with, by the desertion of his brother-in-law the count of Hainault, and the count of Namur; who disregarding the claim of Edward to the crown of France, refused to act against their liege lord, and retired with the troops under their immediate command. Yet this diminution of his forces did not prevent Edward from passing the Scheld, and appearing in the fields of Veronsoffe, near Capelle, with an army of fifty thousand men. Near one hundred thousand French,

French, commanded by the flower of their nobility, and animated by the presence of their monarch, approached those plains: But the prudence of Philip was conspicuous on this occasion; and he was determined to avoid a decisive action, in which he could gain but little and must hazard much. It was his duty to defend his country, without unnecessarily exposing it to the chance of war; and he soon reaped the fruits of his caution, since the exhausted finances of his adversary compelled him to disband his army, after having anticipated his revenue, and incurred a heavy debt in the hopeless enterprise.

On the retreat of his rival, the attention of Philip was first occupied in the endeavour of reconciling the Flemings to their exiled lord, and alluring them to the cause of France; but his efforts were baffled by the influence of James d'Arteville, who steadily adhered to Edward. After a year wasted in desultory descents on either coast, and indecisive actions at sea, the French monarch was once more aroused by the formidable preparations of the king of England to the defence of his crown and kingdom. For this purpose he fitted out a fleet of four hundred vessels, manned with forty thousand men, and stationed them off Sluys, to intercept the passage of Edward. The English navy consisted

sisted only of two hundred and forty sail ; but the wind was favourable to their hopes, and they were encouraged by the presence and example of their king. The encounter was fierce and bloody, and such as might be expected in an age when the sovereignty of the sea depended rather on personal valour than naval skill. In the heat of the action the Flemings, near whose coast the French had imprudently engaged, issued from their harbours, and oppressed their weary adversaries with fresh and unexpected fury ; two hundred and thirty of the French ships were taken ; and with two admirals of France perished thirty thousand of her bravest seamen : So fatal was the loss, that the courtiers of Philip preserved a gloomy silence ; and their sovereign was at length informed of the national calamity by the privileged tongue of a licensed jester.

The success of Edward raised the hopes of his allies, who, in the moment of prosperity, crowded to his standard : at the head of a various army, composed of different nations, and amounting to one hundred thousand men, he pointed his march towards the frontiers of France, while fifty thousand Flemings, under the command of Robert of Artois, laid siege to St. Omer. But this undisciplined and tumultuous crowd was routed by a sally from the garrison, and was not to be rallied

rallied again by the capacity or exertions of their leader. Philip had already drawn together the scattered forces of his kingdom; the numbers of his host were ennobled by the quality of his adherents; and the kings of Bohemia, Scotland, and Navarre marched under his banner. He found Edward engaged in the blockade of Tournay, a city whose fortifications and garrison had resisted the incessant assaults of the English, and which the besiegers could only hope to reduce by famine. The count of Eu, to whose valour and perseverance the defence of this important town was entrusted, had expelled from the walls every useless mouth; and the duke of Brabant, jealous of the success of Edward, allowed to the inhabitants, thus exiled, a free passage through his quarters.

For ten weeks Edward had pressed his attacks, or intercepted the supplies of Tournay; but the approach of Philip dissipated his visionary hopes. To the vain bravado of the English monarch to decide their differences in single combat, the king of France coldly replied, that Edward having done homage to him for Guienne, and solemnly acknowledged him for his superior, it ill became him to send a challenge to his liege lord; but that if he would put the kingdom of England on the issue of their personal prowess, he

would readily accept the challenge. Although these mutual defiances might serve to dazzle the eyes of the vulgar, both monarchs equally tired with a fruitless campaign, listened to the peaceful remonstrances of Jane, the countess dowager of Hainault. This princess was mother-in-law to Edward, and sister to Philip. To assuage the animosities of contending kings, she had left the holy walls of her convent, and her pious efforts were productive of a truce for a year, which left both parties in possession of their different acquisitions, and allowed each time to prepare for fresh hostilities.

Before even this short term could
A. D. 1341. elapse, an event as unfortunate as it was unforeseen kindled again the flames of war, and spread their destructive progress to a much wider extent. John, the third duke of Brittany, sensible of his approaching end, was solicitous to prevent those disorders to which a disputed succession might expose his subjects; he considered a daughter, the only issue of his brother the count of Penthièvre, as his heir; and preferred her title to that of the count of Montfort, his brother by a different mother: He was farther confirmed in this opinion by his own family having inherited the duchy from a female; he accordingly bestowed the hand of his niece on Charles of Blois, nephew of the

king of France, by his mother, Margaret of Valois, sister of that monarch; and who, from his abilities and connection, was, he presumed, capable of defending the claim he thus transferred to him. The Bretons concurred in his choice; and among his vassals the count of Mountfort, the male heir, swore fealty to Charles and his consort, as his future sovereigns.

But the death of John revived the ambition of Mountfort; and while Charles was employed in soliciting at the court of France the investiture of the duchy, his daring competitor, by force or intrigue, had made himself master of Rennes, Natnz, Brest, and Hennebonne; and had secretly engaged to yield homage to Edward, as the king of France, for the duchy of Brittany. Such a vassal opened to the king of England a passage into the heart of France;—this consideration was enforced by the eloquence of Robert of Artois: and Edward readily consented to a treaty which at once flattered his hopes of dominion and his thirst for revenge.

Philip had early suspected the correspondence between Mountfort and the king of England; and when the latter ventured to appear at Paris, determined to arrest him, and compel him to restore what he had seized. Jealous of the intentions of the king of France, that nobleman with-

drew; and his retreat was the signal of war between him and Charles of Blois. In support of his kinsman, John, duke of Normandy, the eldest son of Philip, entered Brittany, and invested Mountfort in the city of Nantz. The fortifications of that place might perhaps have resisted for some time the attack of the besiegers, but Nantz was betrayed by the treachery of the inhabitants; and Mountfort himself was conducted a captive to Paris, and confined in the Louvre.

A.D. 1342. Philip, who had succeeded to the throne of France by the exclusion of the female line, armed in support of his nephew, whose claim was derived from his marriage with a niece of the late Duke of Brittany, and held in chains a prince whose pretensions were similar to his own: But the party of Mountfort was still animated by the manly spirit of his consort, who, instead of deploring with female weakness the captivity of her husband, roused the States of Brittany to resist an usurper imposed upon them by the arms of France. Invested in Hennebonne, she sustained with undaunted courage the assaults of Charles of Blois; when the strength of that city seemed exhausted, she broke through the lines of the besiegers, retired to Brest, and forced her passage back with the important succour of five hundred horse. These examples of female valour

hour might retard, but could not have averted the fate of Hennebonne; a capitulation had already been proposed by the bishop of Leon, when the exulting countess beheld from the rampart the long-expected fleet of England steering to her relief. Six thousand archers, with a body of heavy cavalry, were immediately landed under the command of Sir Walter Manny, a brave and experienced leader; and Charles of Blois was compelled to retire with a sigh of disappointment from the hopeless siege.

A more considerable reinforcement A. D.
soon followed these, under the guid- 1342, 1343.
ance of Robert of Artois; and the impatient exile signalized his prowess by the successful attack of Vannes. The Bretons who adhered to Charles, secretly assembled to recover this important city; and Robert was compelled to relinquish his prey, after receiving a wound which soon after terminated a life, the source of so many calamities to his country. Edward, eager to revenge the fate of his ally, landed himself with an army of twelve thousand men at Morbien, near Vannes, and commenced at once the three important sieges of Vannes, of Rennes, and of Nantz. But by dividing his forces, he failed in every enterprise; and while he faintly prosecuted his attempt against Vannes, Philip had
drawn

drawn together an army of thirty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry. These entered Brittany, commanded by his eldest son, John, duke of Normandy; and by their superior numbers, and lines of circumvallation, invested in their turn the besiegers. Famine had already penetrated into the camp of the English; but the policy of Edward prevailed, when his arms were useless; in the moment when the duke of Normandy was master of the fate of his opponent, and might have dictated terms which would have extinguished the flames of discord, he was induced, by the mediation of two legates of the court of Rome, to subscribe a truce for three years on these fair and equitable conditions: That all prisoners should be released; that the places in Brittany should remain in the hands of the present possessors; that the allies on both sides should be comprehended in the cessation of arms; and that Vannes should be sequestered into the hands of the legates during the truce, to be afterwards disposed of according to their pleasure. Though Edward was sensible of the partiality of the Pope to Philip, and the consequent disposal of Vannes, he gladly subscribed terms which saved his honour, extricated him from his immediate distress, and dismissed him to meditate new hostilities.

Philip

Philip had engaged with invariable A. D.
reluctance in a war from which he had 1344, 1345.
so much to apprehend: The enterprises of his
rival had indeed been constantly baffled; but
his own finances were exhausted in the fruitless
contention; and he had sacrificed at Vannes the
immediate advantages he had obtained, to a truce
which he flattered himself might be converted
into a solid peace. He was soon roused from
this visionary hope by the formidable prepara-
tions of his indefatigable rival. The pretence
for war was the punishment of some nobles of
Brittany, whom Edward asserted to be partizans
of Mountfort, and whose execution he deemed
an infraction of the treaty. While Philip strength-
ened himself by a treaty with Humbert, the se-
cond dauphin of the Viennois, and by the pur-
chase of Montpellier from the king of Majorca,
the English, under the command of the earl of
Derby, had invaded Guienne, twice defeated a
French army entrusted to the count of Lisle,
and possessed themselves of Monsegur, Mon-
pesat, Villefranche, Miremont, and Tonnins,
with the fortresses of Damassen, Aiguillon, An-
gouleme, and Reole.

The exhausted state of the French treasury
rendered Philip for some time incapable of op-
posing the torrent; and the duty which he was
reduced

reduced to lay upon salt, had almost provoked his people into open rebellion: But as soon as these discontents were assuaged, an army was hastily levied of one hundred thousand men. The confidence of the soldiers in their superior numbers was augmented by the presence of the dukes of Normandy and Burgundy; the earl of Derby was compelled to act upon the defensive; Angoulême was taken after a vigorous resistance; and the son of Philip was recalled from the blockade of Aiguillon by the fatal rashness of his father, and a defeat that seemed to expose the French monarchy to immediate destruction.

To defend Guienne, and to succour the earl of Derby, Edward had collected at Southampton a fleet of near a thousand sail, and an army of thirty thousand men; he embarked on board it, with his son the prince of Wales, then only fifteen years of age, and the flower of his nobility; but his intentions were baffled by the obstinacy of the winds; and he was prevailed on to change the object of his destination by Geoffry D'Harcourt, an exiled noble of Normandy, who supplied in the councils of the kings the loss of Robert of Artois. Harcourt strongly enforced the advantages that would attend the invasion of Normandy; defective

titute of any military force, its fertile fields and opulent towns presented a ready harvest and rich plunder to the first invader; while its vicinity to the capital of France rendered every event of importance in those quarters. His arguments were decisive; and Edward ordering his fleet to steer for the Norman coast, safely landed his forces at La Hogue.

Philip received with astonishment and terror the intelligence of the unexpected invasion of his rival; it was immediately followed by the melancholy tidings that the counts of Eu, and of Tancarville, who had endeavoured to oppose him, were defeated and taken prisoners, that the rich town of Caen was surprised and plundered; and that the devastations of the English were extended with licentious fury along the peaceable banks of the Seine. While the king of France assembled his forces, he had the mortification to behold his capital insulted, and his palace of St. Germain consumed, by the incursions and flames of his enemies; but if the first moments were abandoned to despair, the successive hours were cheered by the prospect of victory, and the hope of revenge; The nobility of France crowded to the standard of their sovereign; three royal leaders, the king of Bohemia, the king of the Romans, and the king of Majorca, marched under

der his banners; and an host of one hundred and twenty thousand men promised to chastise the temerity, and overwhelm the martial train of Edward. That prince, disappointed in his intentions of passing the Seine, pointed his march towards the Somme; but the same obstacles presented themselves again; the bridges on that river were either broken down or strongly guarded: a numerous detachment was stationed on the opposite banks; and the host of Philip already pressed upon his rear. The promise of liberal reward induced at last a peasant, whose name of Gobin Agace history has preserved from oblivion, to betray the interests of his country, and to inform Edward of a ford below Abbeville. At the head of his troops the king entered the river, drove the enemy from their station, and pursued them over the plain; while Philip arrived just in time to endure the mortification of beholding his adversary's rear-guard cross the Somme, and his own troops prevented by the returning tide from continuing the pursuit.

The king of France immediately took his route over the bridge of Abbeville, and burning with resentment, beheld his enemy strongly posted near the memorable village of Crecy: His most experienced officers advised him to de-
fer

fer the combat till the ensuing day, when his troops would have recovered from the fatigue; but although Philip assented to this counsel, it was no longer in his power to carry it into execution. His progress from Abbeville seemed rather the tumultuous pursuit of a flying foe, than a well-conducted march to encounter a formidable enemy; one division pressed upon another, and the foremost ranks had already arrived in the presence of the English. The first line consisted of fifteen thousand Genoese, armed with cross-bows; but a little before the engagement, a thunder shower had relaxed the strings of these weapons, while the English archers, who maintained on that day the fame they had before acquired, drew their bows from their cases, and poured a shower of arrows on their defenceless opponents. The confusion of the Genoese was increased by the furious charge of Edward prince of Wales; and the cavalry of France in vain endeavoured to check the ardour and destructive valour of that martial prince. The numbers of the French long supplied the want of order and discipline; but at length the rout was universal; nor could the battle be restored even by the example of Philip himself; One horse had already been killed under him; and as he mounted another, to charge again his enemies, the
reins

reins of his bridle were seized by John of Hainault, and the monarch was reluctantly conveyed off the field of battle.

On the disastrous plains of Crecy perished twelve hundred French knights, fourteen hundred gentlemen, four thousand men at arms, and thirty thousand of the common soldiers. Among the slain were the kings of Bohemia and Majorca; the former, blind from age, guided by two gentlemen, who fastened the reins of his horse to their's, rushed into the thickest of the slaughter, and there gallantly expired fighting; his motto, with these German words, *Ich dien, I serve*, was adopted by the Prince of Wales, and has been preserved by his successors. The triumph of the victors was scarce alloyed by any loss; and only three knights, with one esquire, and a very few of inferior note, are reported to have perished on the side of the English.

In a few days after the battle of A. D. 1346. Crecy, Edward, with his victorious army, formed the siege of Calais; and Philip recalled from Guienne the duke of Normandy, to join the shattered remains of his forces. In Brittany the arms of France had been equally unfortunate, and Charles of Blois was defeated and taken prisoner by the countess of Mountfort; yet his consort revived the spirit of his friends

friends by her example; and Brittany, in a succession of martial enterprises, acknowledged and admired the valour of these hostile and heroic dames. Some consolation might be derived from the state of Flanders; the fickle Flemings recalled their count, and murdered James D'Arteville, who had attempted to transfer the sovereignty of that country to the prince of Wales; but the danger of Calais still loudly called for the succour of Philip; with an host, which has been computed at two hundred thousand men, he advanced towards the devoted city; but he found Edward so surrounded with morasses, and so secured by entrenchments, that any attempt was deemed impracticable; and Philip was compelled, with a sigh of despair, to resign his faithful subjects to their impending fate.

The defence of Calais had been entrusted to the courage and constancy A.D. 1347. of John of Vienne, a knight of Burgundy, whose vigilance and bravery justified the important appointment, and for near a year had repulsed the assaults, and baffled the stratagems of Edward. But the inhabitants were reduced to the last extremity by famine and fatigue; and the king of England would only consent to suspend the general destruction, on condition that six of the most considerable of the citizens should atone

for the obstinacy of the rest, by submitting their lives to his disposal, and presenting the keys of their city with ropes about their necks. While the wretched people gazed on each other, lost in despair, Eustace de St. Pierre, (may his name be immortal!) offered to encounter death for the safety of his friends and companions. The generous flame of enthusiasm was soon communicated, and five more intreated to share the glory and danger; they appeared erect and undaunted before the haughty victor; but Edward was dissuaded from sullying his fame by the inhuman sacrifice; and at the intercession of his queen Philippa, who was just returned from vanquishing and leading in chains David Bruce, the king of Scotland, he dismissed these gallant and almost disappointed burghers.

A. D. 1348, 1350. In every stage of the war Philip had constantly expressed his wish for peace; his defeat at Crecy rendered him still more desirous to restore tranquillity to his country; while Edward, amidst his triumphs, was unable any longer to support the expence of victory. Under these circumstances, the mediation of the court of Rome was readily accepted; and a truce was concluded between the rival monarchs for three years. In France the ravages of war had been followed by the meagre footsteps of famine, and the pestilential breath of contagious disease.

disease. An attempt which had been made on Calais was therefore strenuously disavowed by Philip; and as it had proved unsuccessful, the disavowal was accepted by Edward. But the king of France received at this period a rich compensation for the losses he had sustained in war, by the acquisition of Dauphiny, which has ever since afforded the title of dauphin to the eldest son of the crown. Humbert, the prince of that country, disappointed in his hopes of marrying Joan, daughter of the duke of Bourbon, resigned his territories to Charles, the grandson of Philip, on whom that lady had bestowed her hand, and retired into the order of St. Dominic. The king himself, at this time a widower, soon after espoused Blanch, the daughter of Philip count of Evreux and Jane, queen of Navarre; the beauty of this princess had diverted him from his first intention of demanding her for his son, the duke of Normandy, who united himself with the countess of Bologne: But the satisfaction which these marriages afforded was in less than a year interrupted by the death of the king, who expired in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-third year of a reign, which but ill justified his surname of *Fortunate*.

Chapter the Thirteenth.

JOHN, SURNAMED THE GOOD, KING OF FRANCE.
 —CHARACTER OF CHARLES, KING OF NAVARRE.—WAR WITH ENGLAND.—BATTLE OF POICTIERS.—DEFEAT AND CAPTIVITY OF JOHN.
 —REGENCY OF THE DAUPHIN.—DISORDERS IN FRANCE.—PEACE WITH ENGLAND.—JOHN RESTORED TO FREEDOM, AFTERWARDS RETURNS TO ENGLAND, AND DIES THERE.

A. D. 1350, 1351. JOHN, duke of Normandy, succeeded to the throne of France on the death of his father; and the enviable surname of *Good*, was the reward of his piety, his sincerity, and integrity; but while his subjects contemplated with pleasure these virtues, they could not be blind to the defects by which they were alloyed: He possessed not that masterly prudence and foresight which the difficult situation of his kingdom required; and he seemed to inherit from Philip, that impetuosity which had already proved so fatal to France. He had scarce established his authority, before the nobility were disgusted by

by an act of unseasonable severity: Robert de Brienne, count of Eu and Guisnes, had been taken prisoner by the king of England at Caen; under pretence of negotiating his ransom, he passed several times between France and England; but John suspected him of more dangerous practices; and he was accused of an intention to resign the important district of Guisnes to Edward. By the command of his sovereign he was suddenly arrested, and beheaded, without even the form of a trial: In his last moments he was said to have acknowledged his treasonable designs; but the confession has ever been doubted by contemporary historians; and the execution has fixed an indelible blot on the memory of John. The constable's sword was delivered into the hands of Charles de le Cerda; but his fate was equally unfortunate with that of his predecessor; and he had scarce attained the enviable dignity, before he fell the victim of assassination,

The author of this atrocious deed was Charles, king of Navarre, to whom the epithet of *Wicked* has been with justice affixed. Descended from males of the blood-royal of France, and the grandson, by his daughter, of Lewis the Boisterous, he had espoused Joanna, the daughter of John: But these ties, which

ought to have induced him to support, only animated his efforts to overthrow, the throne; his personal qualities were the admiration of France and Navarre; he was courteous, affable, enterprising, and eloquent; insinuating in his address, and enterprising in his designs: But reverse the portrait, and he was faithless, revengeful, and malicious; insatiate of power, and unrestrained by principle. He had demanded the county of Angouleme, but the king had bestowed it on Charles de le Cerda, and he for ever destroyed his own honour to avenge himself on his competitor. Yet so weak was the crown, that the king of Navarre braved with impunity the royal indignation which he had provoked; nor would he submit to the vain ceremony of asking pardon for the offence, till he had farther insulted the king of France, by demanding and receiving the second son of John as a hostage for his security.

A. D. Charles had not deigned to conceal
 1352, 1354. his pretensions in right of his mother to the crown of France; but he urged with vehemence his more immediate claim to the counties of Champagne and Brie. To obviate any further dispute, John bestowed the dutchy of Normandy on his eldest son, Charles, who now bore the title of dauphin, and commanded him

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to seize the estates of the king of Navarre : The measure was presently attended by the appearance of that monarch at Paris ; and John was glad to appease his turbulent murmurs, at the expence of one hundred thousand crowns.

The truce between the kingdoms of France and England had been but ill observed on both sides ; the French had possessed themselves of the sea-port of St. Jean d'Angeli ; and the English had surpris'd Guisnes : Every thing seemed to threaten a revival of former hostilities ; the houses of Mountfort and Blois still displayed in arms their unabated enmity ; while the ambition of Edward was fanned by the factious counsels of Geoffrey d'Harcourt, who no longer remembered the pardon he had received from Philip ; and by the daring intrigues of the king of Navarre : Even the dauphin was allured by the arts of that prince, to join the formidable confederacy, and to conspire against his father. But John was informed of their secret designs ; he reclaimed his son by pointing out to him the danger and imprudence of these connexions ; and made use of his penitence to draw the king of Navarre and his adherents into a snare. At an entertainment at Rouen, these were arrested ; the former was sent prisoner to Chateau Gaillard ; and several of the most obnoxious of the latter

were immediately executed. Yet the severity of the king, and the treachery of the dauphin, instead of deterring the other conspirators, determined them instantly to erect the standard of rebellion. Philip of Navarre, brother to Charles, and Geoffrey d'Harcourt, armed the towns and castles which they occupied in Normandy, and solicited in their distress the succour of England.

To these solicitations the aspiring
A. D. 1355. hopes of Edward never suffered him to be indifferent. On the expiration of the truce, the prince of Wales had sailed with a fleet into the Garonne, ravaged the adjacent country, delivered to the flames the towns and villages of Languedoc, and retired with his spoil into the county of Guienne; while Edward himself from Calais had extended his devastations as far as St. Omer. The misfortunes of his father Philip were still fresh in the mind of John; and on this occasion he displayed a prudence which it would have been happy for his country had he continued to exert: He restrained the constable of Bourbon, though at the head of a superior army, from hazarding an engagement with the prince of Wales; while he himself, with the flower of his forces, pursued the retreating footsteps of the king of England from St. Omer to Hesdin; at
this

this place John defied his rival to a pitched battle; but Edward, scarce noticing the bravado, continued his march to Calais, and embarked for England.

The expences of the war had exhausted the coffers of the king of France; and in an assembly of the states at Paris, he explained the distressed situation of his finances, and implored their assistance for the defence of the kingdom. The states-general consented to maintain, during the continuance of the war, thirty thousand men; to revive the duty on salt, which had been abolished on the death of Philip; and added a variety of other imposts, to supply the exigencies of government; but with the spirit of freemen, and a prudent jealousy of the crown, they appointed a committee of their own members to take care that the money thus levied was entirely appropriated to the publick service.

The satisfaction which John might receive from these important supplies, A.D. 1356. and from the concurrence of his people, was interrupted by the intrigues of the king of Navarre, which have been already noticed, and by the open revolt of Geoffrey d'Harcourt in Normandy: His nephew, the count of Harcourt, had been beheaded, with several others, when the king of Navarre was betrayed by the dauphin.
Geoffrey

Geoffrey himself, soon after fell in an unsuccessful skirmish; but these gleams of prosperity were overcast by the intelligence that the prince of Wales had marched from Bourdeaux with an army of twelve thousand men, and after ravaging the Agenois, Quercy, and the Limousin, had entered the province of Berry. Philip immediately penetrating into the design of that prince, to join the mal-contents in Normandy, where the earl of Lancaster acted with an English army, caused the bridges of the Loire to be broken down, and the passes to be carefully guarded. With an army of sixty thousand men, he prepared to surround and punish the rash invaders; at Maupertuis, about two leagues from Poitiers, he descried his enemy: The precipitate courage of Philip and his nobility would not suffer them to avail themselves of their numbers, which might have intercepted the provisions of the English, and have compelled them to surrender without striking a blow. Even when determined on battle, they were fatally prevailed on to delay the signal for attack by the interposition of the cardinal of Perigord; the pious prelate having heard of the approach of the two armies, had hastened to prevent, by his mediation, the effusion of Christian blood: But his efforts were ineffectual; Edward indeed offered to purchase a retreat by

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ceding

ceding all the conquests which he had made during this and the former campaign; and stipulating not to bear arms against France during the course of seven years: But John insisted that the prince of Wales himself, with an hundred of his attendants, should yield themselves his prisoners; a prize which he hoped the king of England would consent to ransom by the restitution of Calais.

• The language of negociation was no longer heard; but France had reason to lament the officious interposition of the cardinal of Perigord; and Edward had diligently employed the short interval to fortify his post. The first line of the French was commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the second, by the dauphin, attended by his two younger brothers; and the third, by the king himself, who was accompanied by Philip, his fourth son, then only fourteen years of age. The French were separated from the English by a narrow lane, and the mareschals Andrehen and Clermont were ordered to open this pass with a select detachment; but the English had lined the hedges with archers; numbers of the French fell before they reached the plain; and the survivors were charged and routed by the prince of Wales. At this instant, the Captal de Buche, who had been ordered by Edward by a circuitous

circuitous route, to attack the flank of the French, unexpectedly fell, with six hundred chosen soldiers, on the line commanded by the dauphin. The nobles to whom the care of that prince had been entrusted, hurried him from the field of battle; his troops followed their example; the duke of Orleans, attacked at once in front and rear, joined the flight; and two lines of the French were in a short time thus totally routed and dispersed. A third still remained, commanded by the king himself; and the personal valour of John was not wanting to retrieve the error into which his rashness had betrayed him. The conflict was long, fierce, and bloody; but the ardour of the English was irresistible, and Edward himself on that day appeared invincible. Deserted at length on every side, spent with fatigue, and overwhelmed by numbers, the king of France still continued to defend himself, repeatedly exclaiming, "Where is my cousin, the prince of Wales?" Informed that Edward was at a distance, he threw down his gauntlet, and yielded himself to Dennis de Morbee, a knight of Arras.

John was received by the victor with every mark of generous respect; and during a repast which was immediately prepared, the prince of Wales served at the royal captive's table, as if he had been one of his retinue. The defeat of Poitiers

tiers induced France to solicit a truce; and Edward, sensible that his forces were too weak to improve his advantage, and desirous of safely conveying his royal prisoner to England, assented to the proposal. The reception of John at the court of London, was a repetition of the same respectful conduct that he had already experienced, and his calamity was alleviated by the constant exertion of courteous humanity.

But the defeat of Poitiers had inflicted a wound on the prosperity of France, which was still further inflamed by the intestine commotions of that country. In the absence and captivity of the king, the dauphin had assumed the reins of government; but his inexperienced youth exposed his authority to insult; and the assembly of the states, which he summoned, embraced the opportunity, amidst the general confusion, to limit the power of their prince, to impeach the former misconduct of his ministers, and to demand the liberty of the king of Navarre. Marcel, a factious partizan of that monarch's, provost of the merchants, and first magistrate of Paris, filled by his intrigues the city with confusion; at his instigation a lawless bravo had murdered the treasurer of the crown; at the command of the dauphin, the mareschals Robert de Clermont and John de Conflans, dragged

dragged the assassin from the sanctuary of the altar, and immediately executed him; but the bishop of Paris exclaimed against this invasion of the privileges of the church, and Marcel avenged the fate of his adherent; the two marshals were butchered in the presence of the dauphin; his clothes were even stained with their blood; and when Charles asked with some emotion if he was to be involved in the same destruction, the insolence of Marcel affected to provide for his security by placing on his head a blue hood, the badge of the partizans of Navarre: That monarch had escaped from his prison to increase the public disorders; and Charles was reduced to cultivate towards him an appearance of regard, though he strongly suspected him of having administered to him a dose of poison, the immediate effects of which he surmounted by the goodness of his constitution.

The chiefs of the sedition had flattered themselves with the hope of changing the government, of vesting the power in the commons, and leaving the king an empty title; but this wild scheme, which was favourably received in Paris, was rejected by the other great cities; the dauphin was recognized by the states-general as regent, and the inhabitants of Picardy and Champagne armed in his cause.

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The misery of France was heightened by a new and unexpected evil: The peasants, formerly oppressed, and now unprotected by their masters, felt the pang of want sharpened by the derision of the nobles. The phrase of *Jacque bon Homme* had been applied to them by the contempt of their superiors, and they now rose in myriads to avenge their wrongs and insults; the castles of the gentry were consumed with fire, or levelled to the ground; their wives and daughters were ravished or murdered; and the savage fury of the rude barbarians beheld with pleasure their former lords expire under the most exquisite torments. The nobles at length assembled for their mutual defence: The duke of Orleans cut off ten thousand in the neighbourhood of Paris; the king of Navarre put to the sword twelve thousand, with their principal leader, William Caillet; nine thousand of them had invested in Meaux the consort of the dauphin, and three other ladies of quality; but in an age of chivalry, the defence of the fair was the chief glory of the brave; the Captal of Buche, though in the service of Edward, flew to the protection of these trembling dames: His gallantry was successful; the peasants were routed with cruel slaughter; and amidst these wild ravages of war, we are

pleased

pleased to discern the vestiges of more tender emotions.

Marcel, the seditious provost, had perished in a tumult of his own exciting; and the authority of the dauphin was supported by the most prudent and most virtuous of the French. By declaring that he would never acknowledge the house of Valois, the king of Navarre had allured to his standard the independent bodies of Norman and English troops, which on the truce had been left to seek their own subsistence; with these he blockaded the dauphin in Paris; but when the hopes of Charles were almost extinguished, he was preserved by an unexpected peace with his rival on equal and moderate terms. Although this measure has generally been ascribed to the natural levity of the king of Navarre, yet the policy of that prince soon pointed out to him the improbability of his obtaining an effectual support from England; his own pretensions to the crown clashed with those of Edward; and he was sensible in any other expectations he should find it more difficult to negotiate with the haughty victor, than with his own kinsman, humbled by incessant misfortunes.

A.D. 1358. John, to regain his freedom, had subscribed a peace which restored to Edward all the provinces that had been possessed by

by Henry the Second and his two sons, and annexed them to England without the obligation of homage or fealty. But these terms, which would have dismembered for ever his kingdom, were rejected by the dauphin and the States-general. The truce which had been concluded for two years was now expired; and Edward cast anchor before Calais, with a fleet of eleven hundred sail; soon augmented his army to one hundred thousand men: and again assumed the title of king of France.

The dauphin, unable to withstand his enemy in the field, contented himself with putting the most considerable towns in a posture of defence, chose his station at Paris, and allowed the English to extend their ravages over the open country: They had already penetrated through Picardy into Champagne; and Edward, desirous of being crowned at Rheims, where that ceremony is usually performed, laid siege to the city. But the walls of Rheims were defended by the valour of the inhabitants, and the patriotic exhortations of the archbishop, John de Craon: After wasting his strength in the ineffectual enterprize during seven weeks, the king was obliged to retire. From Champagne, which was already desolated, he directed his march into Burgundy, and pillaged Tonerre, Gaillon,

Gaillon, and Avalon; but the duke of Burgundy redeemed his country from the impending ruin by the payment of one hundred thousand marks; a similar composition preserved Nivernois; and the king of England, after wasting, in a long and destructive march, that country, the sovereignty of which he claimed, appeared at the gates of Paris: The prudence of the dauphin had provided that city with magazines which defied the attacks of famine; it was equally secure by the number of its inhabitants from any enterprize in arms; and Charles, while he applauded his own policy, might safely deride the vain bravadoes of Edward, who repeatedly defied him to battle.

A, D. 1360. A dreadful tempest, to which the army of Edward was exposed in the fields round Chartres, is supposed to have inclined the mind of that monarch towards peace: But in the resolutions of the king of England we are to look for motives more characteristick than those of superstition. All his victories had not procured a single partizan to his claim of succession; the king of Navarre was his most dangerous rival; and the caution of the dauphin precluded him from the hopes of the same advantages as he had obtained in the fields of Crecy and Poictiers. Under these circumstances, conferences were opened between the French and English

English commissioners at Bretigny in the Chartraine, and the peace was at last concluded on the following conditions: That king John, as his ransom; should pay at different periods three millions of crowns of gold: that Edward should renounce all claim to the crown of France, and the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou; and should receive in exchange the provinces of Poictou, Saintonge, l'Agenois, Perigort, the Limousin, Quercy, Rouergue, l'Angoumois; with Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France. That these provinces, as well as that of Guienne, should be ceded to the crown of England free from fealty or homage; that the king of Navarre should be restored to his honours and estates; that Edward and John should mutually renounce their confederacy with the Flemings and Scots; that the houses of Blois and Mountfort should submit their pretensions to the arbitration of the two kings; and that forty hostages should be sent to England as a pledge for the faithful execution of these conditions; among these were two sons of the French king, John and Lewis; his brother, Philip, duke of Orleans, and many of the principal nobility of France.

The conclusion of the peace enabled
John, after a captivity of four years, A. D. 1360, 1363.

to revisit his capital; but the acclamations of his subjects must have only awakened a more poignant anguish at the calamities which he beheld them endure through his imprudence: Large bands of military adventurers, who had followed the standard of Edward, refused to lay down their arms, and persevered in a life of military rapine; they associated themselves under the name of *Companions*, and defeated the constable, James of Bourbon, a prince of the blood, who commanded an army of twelve thousand men. The rage of men was attended by that of heaven; and in Paris alone thirty thousand persons were in one year the victims of a pestilential disorder. Amidst the miseries of his people, the mind of the king was oppressed by the immense ransom which he had agreed to pay for his freedom; on Galeas, the son of John Visconti, duke of Milan, he bestowed the hand of his daughter; and received from his new son-in-law the sum of six hundred thousand crowns. The Jews, who had been banished France, were, by similar arguments, permitted to return for the term of twenty years; but the subjects of John beheld with equal disgust the sordid barter of a princess whom they respected, and the restoration of a people whom they despised. Some satisfaction might arise to John on the important
acqui-

acquisition of Burgundy, which, on the death of Philip the late duke, he claimed and wrested from the feeble attempts of the king of Navarre; but he again imprudently dismembered it from the crown, by his partiality to his fourth and favourite son, Philip, whom he created duke of Burgundy, and first peer of France; and who, by his marriage with the widow of his predecessor, afterwards attained the counties of Flanders and Artois, and laid the foundation of the future greatness of his house.

To relieve the anxiety of his mind, and confer with pope Innocent the Sixth, whose steady friendship he had experienced, John undertook a journey to Avignon. But this interview with the Roman pontiff served only more strongly to display the fatal impetuosity which marks his character. While the wounds of his country were still fresh, while his people had yet scarce tasted the comforts of peace, he already contemplated new and distant wars; the barren laurels of Palestine were the objects of his restless ambition; and at the persuasion of Innocent, he assumed the cross, notwithstanding the remonstrances and intreaties of his nobility.

But the return of John to France was attended by new disappointments and mortifications; his subjects, and even the

A. D. 1364.

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dauphin,

dauphin, loudly accused the ignominious terms which he had subscribed. His son, Lewis, count of Anjou, impatient of confinement, had escaped from Edward, whose hostage he was, and refused to return at the command of his father: The king himself was induced, by the numerous embarrassments which on every side presented themselves, to declare his intention of delivering himself again into the power of Edward. The dissuasions of his council, who advised him to elude a treaty which he could not consistent with policy fulfil, were ineffectual; and his answer ought to be impressed on the mind of every sovereign, "That though good faith was banished from the rest of the earth, she ought still to retain her habitation in the breast of princes!" He therefore crossed the seas; according to the superstition of the times, offered a valuable jewel at the shrine of Thomas à Becket; and was received at London with every mark of honourable respect. But it does not appear that his presence was in any shape conducive to his interest; Edward received with cold disapprobation his proposal to join his intended expedition to the Holy Land; and John himself was soon recalled from his visionary hopes of eastern victories, by the slow but certain progress of disease. A reign of incessant calamity, which had been impatiently endured by his subjects

jects for near fourteen years, was at length terminated in his lodgings in the Savoy, and in the capital of his enemy: He breathed his last in the fifty-sixth year of his age; his funeral was celebrated with splendid solemnity by the English, and honoured by the attendance of his rival, Edward; and his corpse was afterwards conveyed to France, and interred with those of his predecessors in the abbey of St. Denis.

Chapter the Fourteenth.

ACCESSION OF THE DAUPHIN, CHARLES THE FIFTH, TO THE THRONE OF FRANCE.—THE COUNT OF MOUNTFORT ACQUIRES THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY. EXPEDITION OF DU GUESCLIN. — PETER THE CRUEL, KING OF CASTILE, DETHRONED BY THE ARMS OF DU GUESCLIN, RESTORED BY THE PRINCE OF WALES. AGAIN DEFEATED AND PUT TO DEATH BY HENRY OF TRANSTAMARE.—WAR BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF CHARLES THE FIFTH.

CHARLES the Fifth, who has already been frequently mentioned as dauphin and A.D. 1364. regent, succeeded to the throne of France; and by his prudence acquired and retained the honourable distinction of *Wife*. The king of Navarre, with his usual turbulence, had resumed his former enterprises against that prince, and was now in arms in Normandy: The command of his forces was entrusted to the valour and capacity

city of the Captal of Buche, to whom Charles opposed Bertrand du Guesclin, a gentleman of Brittany, and one of the most accomplished characters of the age. In the battle of Chocherel, the Captal was defeated, and taken prisoner by the superior genius of his antagonist; and du Guesclin himself soon experienced the same fate in Brittany, where the war was renewed between the families of Mountfort and Blois: In an action at Auray, Charles of Blois was killed, at the same time that du Guesclin fell into the hands of the victors; but the prudence and moderation of Charles prevented this event from being attended with any fatal consequences; he admitted the claim of Mountfort, though a zealous partizan of England, to the duchy, and received the proffered homage for his dominions; and while he thus reconciled an ancient enemy, he rewarded du Guesclin, who, in consequence of the treaty had regained his freedom, with the rank of marshal of Normandy.

By a similar liberality, the king had allured to his service Oliver de Clifton, and other Bretons of military reputation; his discernment had long discovered, and his magnanimity induced him to esteem the talents of the Captal of Buche, who shone as a general and a statesman; he released him without ransom, and presented him with the
county

county of Nemours. But the Captal, perceiving his new engagements disagreeable to the prince of Wales, determined to adhere to his former master, and restored to Charles his royal present. The generosity of Charles was imitated by his uncle, Philip, duke of Orleans; the distress of the king compelled him to think of returning the grants of his predecessor; of these the duke of Orleans possessed the most considerable; but Philip declared, although he considered his title as good, yet, convinced of the rectitude of the king's intentions, he resigned them into his hands, and would be content with whatever he should think proper to assign him. The king accepted indeed the resignation, but unwilling to be vanquished in this generous contest, he alone accepted it, to confirm the grants more strongly.

A. D 1365. But even the prudence of Charles was only in the course of revolving years, able to remedy the calamities in which the rashness of John had involved his country: The military adventurers described by the appellation of Companions, still ravaged France; they regarded with contempt the censures of the church; and they even rejected the authority of the king of England, who enraged at their insolence, offered to cross the seas to chastise them. But Charles was not desirous of the presence of so formidable a rival;

a rival; and he was content with coolly declining the proposal, and adding, that he himself had conceived a project which would deliver him from these dangerous inmates.

The storm which the king of France was not capable of resisting by force, he diverted by his policy, to spend its fury in a different quarter. Peter, king of Castile, was justly stigmatized by the epithet of *Cruel*; his subjects, his nobles, and at last his wife, were the victims of his ferocious disposition. The latter, Blanch de Bourbon, was sister to the queen of France; and he hesitated not, after throwing her into prison, to put an end to her life by poison, that he might espouse his mistress, Mary de Padilla.

Henry, count of Transtamare, his
natural brother, resolved to seek that A. D.
1366, 1367.
security in arms which he was hopeless of from submission: He sought refuge in France; and with the permission of Charles, and by the advice of du Guesclin, determined to employ the daring bands of Companions in the destruction of the tyrant. The abilities of du Guesclin were the means of securing these adventurers; he remonstrated to the leaders (by many of whom he was already beloved as the former associate of their military toils) on the ignominy of their life, and the dishonourable subsistence which they drew from
from

from plunder and rapine. To the plea of necessity he opposed an honourable expedition, which promised equal advantages with their present desultory incursions. The chiefs of the Companions consented to enlist under his standard, so high was their confidence in his honour, though ignorant of the enterprise he meditated, with the single stipulation, that they should not be led against the prince of Wales. The silent acquiescence at least, if not the open concurrence, of Edward was obtained; and Charles contributed what little he could spare from his slender coffers, to complete and hasten the preparations.

Du Guesclin joined the martial band at Châlons, on the Soane; and first conducted them to Avignon, the residence of the Roman pontiff. From Innocent the Sixth he demanded an absolution for his soldiers, and the sum of two hundred thousand livres. The first was instantly granted; but the second request was received with hesitation. When complied with, the pious successor of St. Peter extorted the money from the inhabitants of Avignon: But the generous du Guesclin refused to trample on the oppressed; "It is not my purpose," cried the humane warrior, "to injure those innocent people; the pope and his cardinals themselves can well spare me that sum from their own coffers. This money,

“I insist, must be restored to the owners; and should they be defrauded of it, I shall myself return from the other side of the Pyrenees, and oblige you to make them restitution.” The pope submitted to the peremptory language of du Guesclin, and the success of his first negotiation was rivalled by that of his arms.

The inhabitants of Castile joined the standard of Henry of Transamare; and the tyrant, justly odious and generally deserted, fled from the indignation of his subjects, and sought refuge in Guienne. The sentiments of the prince of Wales were however already changed; he regarded the fallen monarch with compassion, and dreaded the powerful confederate that France might acquire in the new king of Castile. He determined to restore Peter, and after levying, with incredible diligence, a numerous army, he recalled the Companions from the support of Henry. Most of these obeyed a voice which they were accustomed to reverence; yet Henry, beloved by his new subjects, and reinforced by the king of Arragon, beheld himself at the head of one hundred thousand men. Du Guesclin, and the most experienced of the generals, endeavoured to dissuade him from hazarding an action with Edward, whose former success had inspired his troops with confidence, and his enemies with terror. But Henry trusted to his numbers,
which

which trebled those of his adversary ; and he ventured to encounter the English prince at Najara. The host of Henry was routed, with the loss of twenty thousand men ; du Guesclin himself was taken prisoner ; while only four knights and forty privates perished on the part of Edward.

Castile immediately submitted to the victor, and Peter was once more seated on the throne, But the satisfaction which the prince of Wales experienced in the success of this perilous enterprise was soon alloyed by the ingratitude of the tyrant, who refused the pay which he had stipulated to the English forces ; and Edward returned to Guienne with his army diminished, and his own constitution fatally impaired by the noxious climate.

But Charles was not deterred by the late reverse of fortune which his ally had experienced, from hoping a more auspicious event. The ferocious temper of Peter had been heightened by his former exile and his present prosperity ; he considered and he treated his subjects as vanquished rebels. That Henry of Transmare might avail himself of the general discontent, the king of France furnished him with whatever sums he could possibly spare, and at the same time he paid the ransom of du Guesclin. Some forces were privately levied in France ; and the moment they entered

tered the territories of Castile, they were swelled to a host by the indignation of the natives. Henry found himself again on the throne which he had so lately quitted; his justice, or his policy, extinguished with life the unceasing animosity of Peter; whose claims still survived in his eldest daughter, the second wife of the duke of Lancaster, the younger brother of the prince of Wales.

But a more profitable harvest soon presented itself to the vigilance and industry of Charles. Edward, in his late expedition had involved himself in debts, which compelled him to impose a new tax on his principality. A fickle people complained that their privileges were violated; their national hatred to the English, which had been assuaged by the amiable qualities of the prince of Wales, was revived; and their hopes and inclinations were directed to Charles, whose regulations and moderation had restored the credit of his kingdom, and attached to him the confidence of the neighbouring princes. The king of France, by the treaty of Bretigny, had renounced all claim of fealty over those provinces which were appropriated to the crown of England: But treaties seldom bind princes longer than is consistent with their interest. Charles affected to listen to the complaints of the deputies of Guienne, and at length summoned

moned Edward to appear at his court at Paris, and justify his proceedings against his vassals. The answer of Edward was suggested by the memory of his former victories: "I will come indeed to Paris," replied the prince; "but it shall be at the head of sixty thousand men."

A. D. 1369, 1372. The preparations of the king of France had been silently but diligently completed; and while his adversary yet doubted whether he would presume to venture on open hostilities, he had already entered into the country of Ponthieu. The cities of Abbeville, St. Valori, Rue, and Crotoy, readily received him; and the whole country, in a short time, acknowledged his authority. The southern provinces were invaded by the dukes of Berri and Anjou, the brothers of Charles, guided by the experience of du Guesclin, who was recalled from Spain, and had received the sword of Constable. The progress of the French became every day more considerable; lord Chandos, an English general of the highest military reputation, fell in a skirmish; he was succeeded in command by the Captal of Buche, who was soon after taken prisoner in an unsuccessful action. Sir Robert Knolles had indeed ravaged Champagne, and advanced with a body of English forces into the neighbourhood of Paris; but his progress was checked

checked by the presence and skill of Du Guesclin; while the king of Navarre, sensible of the prudence of Charles, reconciled himself, and concluded a treaty with his royal kinsman; and Henry of Castile repaid the friendship which had placed him on the throne, by the aid of a fleet, which defeated that of England, and intercepted the destined succours, in sight of the port of Rochelle.

The prince of Wales, debilitated by the rapid advances of disease, and unable to mount on horseback, made only some ineffectual attempts to stem the torrent. After recovering Limoges, and chastising the levity or treachery of the inhabitants by the slaughter of great part of them, he returned feeble and depressed to England, and committed the war to the conduct of his generals. Poitiers, St. John de Angeli, Taillebourg, and Angoulême, the effects of the victory of Crecy, opened their gates to the constable of France; and Rochelle was restored to Charles by a stratagem of the mayor, who availed himself of the ignorance of the captain who commanded the English garrison. The king of England had himself embarked with a gallant army to succour the remnant of his forces in France, invested in Thouars, and which had engaged to surrender, unless relieved within a certain time; but the elements

themselves warred in favour of Charles, and Edward was detained by contrary winds till the term which had been fixed had elapsed. With difficulty, in a tempestuous sea, he re-gained the English coast, and abandoned the brave companions of his former toils to their fate.

A.D. 1373. The duke of Brittany had, in a second marriage, espoused the daughter of the king of England, and amidst this storm of adversity maintained inviolate his connexions with that crown. He was now summoned by the king of France to attend him as his vassal. With du Guesclin and Oliver Clifton, Charles had already allured to his service the Bretons whose abilities he had most reason to dread; and the duke, on this emergency, beheld himself destitute of generals or ministers in whom he could confide. On one side, the constable; on the other, Oliver Clifton, invaded the country; and Montfort, after distributing the English forces in the most important towns, retired to the court of Edward. The pride of the English monarch was wounded by the exile of his son-in-law; he enabled the duke to cross the seas with an army of twenty-five thousand men, commanded by his son, the duke of Lancaster. That prince, impatient to rival the fame of his elder brother, traversed the length of France, from Calais to Bourdeaux. But Charles was not
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to be provoked from the prudent system which he had embraced, by the insults of an enemy, or the destruction of the country; and the duke of Lancaster, continually harassed by flying parties, and the enmity of the inhabitants, without being able to compel the French to a decisive action, or obtain any solid advantage, found his forces diminished above one half before he reached the gates of Bourdeaux.

The Roman pontiff, Innocent the A. D.
Sixth, still offered his mediation to re- 1374, 1375.
concile the contending monarchs; but although they rejected the proposals of peace, their mutual distress induced them to consent to a truce for two years. Both their kingdoms were desolated by the impartial ravages of pestilence; and the pride of Edward, which had been inflamed by prosperity, was now humbled by the loss of almost all his ancient possessions in France, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne; and all his conquests, except Calais. Yet, even amidst their common embarrassments, they were equally industrious to keep alive the sparks of discord, by silently passing over Brittany. But the policy of Charles, in this instance, failed him; the duke of Brittany, still assisted by the English, overwhelmed his opponents, commanded by Oliver Clifton; and they were only preserved from

the vengeance of their prince by a second truce, for a year, concluded at Bruges, in which Brittany was included.

A. D. 1375, 1377. These intervals from war had been assiduously employed by the king of France to restore order and tranquillity to the provinces from which they had been so long banished; at the same time, by an edict, which he caused to be registered in parliament, he fixed the majority of the kings of France at their entrance into their fourteenth year, contrary to the regulation of Philip the Hardy, which continued their minority till they had attained fourteen complete. About this time the prince of Wales, so long the scourge of the race of Valois, expired of a lingering disorder. Within the space of a year, his father Edward, having survived the expiration of the truce little more than a month, breathed his last. The minority of his grandson, only eleven years old, left Charles and Du Guesclin to pursue an almost undisputed conquest; and the scattered remnant in France which yet had retained its allegiance to England, was entirely overwhelmed, except Bayonne, Bourdeaux, and Calais with its dependencies.

A. D. 1378, 1380. The king of France had the honour this year to receive in his capital the emperor, Charles the Fourth, and his son Wenceslaus,

Wenceslaus, king of the Romans. But amidst scenes of luxury and magnificence, the prudence and vigilance of the French monarch were not lulled asleep, and he commenced his famous process against the king of Navarre, for an attempt to poison him. Several of his associates suffered in the course of this enquiry; and the king of Navarre himself was deprived of his possessions in Normandy, and his lordship of Montpelier, which he had obtained in return for his claims on the counties of Champagne and Brie, and the duchy of Burgundy. Encouraged by this success, Charles now turned his attention to the duchy of Brittany, which he was desirous again to annex to the crown. The duke was attainted of felony by the parliament of Paris; his duchy was declared to be forfeited; while the pretensions of the widow of Charles of Blois, and his children, were rejected with contempt. But the expectations of the king of France were on this occasion blasted by the jealousy of his own nobility, and by the general indignation of the Bretons. These crowded to the standard of their prince; and even the constable, Du Guesclin, refused to bear arms against his native country. These obstacles induced Charles to listen to the language of accommodation; the English had availed themselves of the division to recover some places in

Guienne: Against these the aged constable buckled on his armour with the alacrity of youth; the revolted towns were reduced to capitulate; and the castle of Chateauneuf de Randan had fixed a day to surrender, unless relieved. On the morning of that day the constable expired, full of years and glory; but the English governor faithfully executed the agreement, and laid the keys of the castle at the feet of the corpse of the victor.

A.D. 1380. Charles himself survived not long his general; after having established the precarious throne of the house of Valois, he yielded, in the prime of his age, to the premature attack of death. All historians agree in ascribing his early death to the effects of the poison which had been administered to him when dauphin, by the king of Navarre; who himself, about six years afterwards, perished by a death equally singular and deplorable: Some bandages of linen steeped in sulphur and brandy, in which he had been wrapped for the cure of the leprosy, catching fire from the carelessness of a page.

The immediate consequences of the noxious draught had been delayed by a physician sent to the king of France by the emperor, Charles the Fourth, who diminished the mortal tendency of the venom by opening an issue in his arm; but he at the same time

time declared, that whenever the issue was closed, the fate of Charles was instantly determined. His prediction was verified; and the king, sensible of his approaching end, met it with decent fortitude. His last counsels to the dukes of Berri, Burgundy, and Bourbon, were to bestow the constable's sword on Oliver Clifton; to strengthen the alliance with Germany by marrying his son and successor to a princess of that country; and to deliver the people as soon as possible from the burthen of taxes which necessity had compelled him to impose.

At the age of forty-four, Charles the Fifth was snatched from the service of his country, when his experience and abilities might have proved most beneficial to it. Death had previously deprived him of his queen, Jane, daughter to Peter, duke of Bourbon, an accomplished and virtuous princess, in whom he intended to have vested the regency. Du Guesclin also, from whose valour the state had derived such advantages, was no more. The last moments of the dying monarch were clouded by the gloomy prospect which presented itself; but although his sagacity might foresee, his ability could not avert, the evils which threatened the kingdom; and his successor was left without experience, and almost without a pilot, to steer the vessel of the state through a dangerous and tempestuous sea.

Chapter the Fifteenth.

THE DUKE OF ANJOU APPOINTED REGENT DURING THE MINORITY OF CHARLES THE SIXTH.—UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION AGAINST NAPLES.—MAJORITY OF CHARLES THE SIXTH.—MARCHES AGAINST THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.—IS SEIZED WITH INSANITY NEAR MANS—DISORDERS WHICH ENSUE.—REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND.—ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—STATE OF ANARCHY IN FRANCE.

A. D.
1380, 1383. **O**N the death of his father, Charles the Sixth, on whom was bestowed the appellation of *Well-beloved*, was only twelve years old; and the late king had nominated his eldest brother, the duke of Anjou, as the guardian of his nephew, till he attained the age appointed for taking the reins of government into his own hands. The first care of the new regent was to assume the power of this important trust; but he seems

seems throughout to have been totally indifferent to the duties of the charge. Distinguished only by unbounded rapacity and inordinate ambition, he readily resigned the education of the king to the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon; the former his uncle by his father's, the latter by his mother's side: While the duke of Berri, the third son of John the Good, was eclipsed by the superior power and talents of his competitors.

Philip, duke of Burgundy, was the youngest of the sons of John, and had distinguished his early valour by the side of his father in the unfortunate battle of Poitiers. To reward his courage and constancy, that monarch had bestowed upon him the duchy of Burgundy; and Philip afterwards increased his prospect of dominion by his own nuptials with the daughter of the count of Flanders; and the marriage of his son with Margaret, daughter of Albert of Bavaria, count of Hainault and Holland.

The first care of these princes was the coronation of the young king, which was performed with great splendour at Rheims: The sword of constable was given, according to the desire of Charles the Fifth, to Oliver Clisson; but the duke of Anjou soon betrayed the confidence which had been reposed in him; and lost to honour and integrity, seized, in the castle of Melun, the plate
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and treasures of the late king, to support his own ambitious enterprises. Joan, rendered immortal by the profligacy of her character, and who was descended from Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Lewis, reigned at this time at Naples. She had already adopted her relation, Charles Duzazzo, as her successor; but the inhuman Neapolitan deposed and murdered his benefactress; whose last breath revoked the nomination, and declared the duke of Anjou the heir to her throne. To advance the wild pretensions of that prince, the treasures of France were scattered with a lavish hand; but his troops were defeated, and his designs continually baffled, by the superior skill and artifices of his adversary; and the duke of Anjou discovered too late that he had sacrificed his honour without gratifying his ambition.

The conduct of the duke of Burgundy was equally to be arraigned: Instead of training the mind of the royal pupil to the pursuit of virtue and greatness, he indulged him in every description of pleasure and excess; and sought to secure his affections by gratifying the licentious passions of youth. The acquiescence of the duke of Berri was purchased by the restoration of the county of Languedoc, which by Charles the Fifth had, on account of his oppressive conduct, been transferred to the count of Foix; while the citizens
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of Paris, oppressed by new taxes, broke out into open sedition, and were with difficulty quelled by some of the more substantial inhabitants, who dreaded, amidst the tumult, lest their property should become the prey of the insurgents.

A peace had been concluded indeed with the duke of Brittany; but Philip of Burgundy, who on the departure of the duke of Anjou for Naples, had assumed the sole administration, soon involved the kingdom in more serious hostilities with the Flemings. These, enraged at the daily imposts with which they were burthened to supply the luxury and prodigality of their count, had erected the standard of revolt, and chosen as their leader Philip, the son of James d'Arteville, the famous brewer of Ghent. The son degenerated not from the abilities of his father; bold in action, eloquent in council, penetrating and enterprising, he prepared his adherents to encounter with resolution the storm which menaced them. At the head of near fourscore thousand men, animated by the presence of their youthful monarch, the duke of Burgundy, accompanied by the dukes of Berri and Bourbon, and the principal nobility of France, invaded Flanders, to restore the authority of the exiled count. But these splendid preparations seemed for some time to portend only disappointment; and the operations of war were at first

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first favourable to the Flemings. A considerable detachment of the French was routed in an ineffectual attempt to raise the siege of Oudenarde; and the king might have been perhaps exposed to the disgrace of a fruitless campaign, had not the imprudent ardour of Arteville induced him to hazard a decisive action near the village of Rosebecque. On the banks of the Lis the hopes of the Flemings were extinguished by the valour and discipline of the French; twenty-five thousand of the insurgents perished on the field; and among these was their leader Arteville; Oudenarde was immediately relieved; Courtrai, the chief seat of revolt, surrendered; and the turbulent Flemings were once more reduced to submission by the arms of France.

A. D. 1384, 1390. The satisfaction of the king at this victory was alloyed by fresh tumults at Paris; but the fickle citizens were soon humbled by the return of their sovereign at the head of a triumphant army. Several of the great towns, which had partaken in the guilt, were included in the punishment of the capital; while the death of the count of Flanders annexed that country, with the provinces of Artois, Revel, and Nevers, to the possessions of the duke of Burgundy. About the same time the duke of Anjou, overwhelmed by the calamities of his Italian expedition,

expedition, expired at Barr, in Calabria; and the king of France, delivered from the immediate controul of two of his uncles, began to assume the reins of government, and discovered symptoms of genius and spirit which revived the drooping hopes of his country. His marriage had already engrossed the attention of his council; but Charles refused to sacrifice his domestic happiness to the forms which had bound his predecessors; and declared his resolution previously to behold the person intended for his consort. An interview was contrived for him at Amiens with Isabella, daughter of the duke of Bavaria; and the insinuating address and personal charms of that princess, fatally determined his choice in her favour.

The understanding of the king, though uncultivated, appears to have been clear and manly: He again deprived his uncle, the duke of Berri, of the government of Languedoc, which he continued to abuse; and conciliated the affections of his people, by restoring their privileges, and relieving them from the vexatious taxes which a minority had imposed. He reduced the Flemings to acknowledge the authority of his uncle, the duke of Burgundy, which at first they had opposed; he detached John de Vienne, with fifteen hundred men at arms, to reinforce the Scotch
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in their incursions against the English; and encouraged by the disorders of an English government, and by the feeble character of Richard the Second, he prepared a prodigious fleet at Sluys to invade that kingdom, in hopes of recovering Calais, in exchange for the conquest he might make in England. But this enterprize was defeated by the indolence and obstinacy of the duke of Berri; a majority of the ships were lost in a storm; and the advanced state of the season compelled the king, though reluctantly, to abandon the immediate execution of his designs. A truce was soon after concluded between the two kingdoms, for the space of three years; and before it expired England was preserved from the menaced danger, and France plunged into more deep and fatal calamities, by an incident the most extraordinary and deplorable.

A. D. 1390, 1392. The Sieur de Craoh, a profligate nobleman, had been entrusted by the court of France with a considerable sum of money for the support of the duke of Anjou, reduced to extreme distress by his Italian expedition. He had betrayed the confidence which had been thus reposed in him; and dissipated the money in his licentious pleasures at Venice. By the credit of the duke of Orleans, the brother of the king, he obtained his pardon, and returned to court,

court, to abuse the clemency of his sovereign by an act of more atrocious treachery. To gratify his private resentment, he attempted to assassinate the constable, Oliver Clifton, whom he suspected of having promoted his disgrace; the veteran hero was attacked as he returned from the hotel of St. Pol, by twenty ruffians; and although he defended himself with his sword with his wonted intrepidity, he at length fell, from the loss of blood and the number of his wounds. The goodness of his constitution triumphed over the bloody malice of his assailants, while Craon fled from the vengeance of his incensed sovereign to the protection of the duke of Brittany.

Charles demanded the criminal; and on the refusal of the duke, prepared to compel him, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the dukes of Burgundy and Berri, at the head of a numerous army. Accompanied by these princes, he had scarce arrived at Mans before he was seized with a slow fever; but his impatience to punish the crime of Craon, and the contempt of the duke of Brittany, induced him to resist the advice of his physicians, and to continue his march. As he passed through a forest between Mans and La Fleche, in the heat of the day, the bridle of his horse was suddenly seized by a man in wretched apparel,

apparel, black and hideous; who exclaimed, "My king, where are you going? you are betrayed!" and then instantly disappeared. At that moment, a page who carried the king's lance, and who under the pressure of fatigue had fallen asleep, let fall the lance on a helmet which another page carried before him. This noise, with the sudden appearance and exclamation of the man, concurred to produce an immediate and fatal effect on the king's imagination. He drew his sword, and struck furiously on every side; three persons, besides the page who dropped the lance, were the victims of his phrenzy; at length he was disarmed and secured; the violence of the effort had exhausted his strength; and he was conveyed, senseless and motionless, to Mans.

This account, strange and improbable, is yet supported by the united testimonies of contemporary historians. Probably the mind of the king, oppressed by indisposition, presented to his fancy the ideal figure, the source of his terror; probably the duke of Burgundy used this artifice to fright him from an expedition, from which he had endeavoured ineffectually to dissuade. But whatever was the cause of Charles's delirium, the consequences were melancholy. The invasion of Brittany was immediately abandoned; the

the king was re-conducted to Paris; and expressed, on the recovery of his senses, his horror at the blood which had been thus unknowingly spilt.

During the three days that his delirium had lasted, the grief of his people proclaimed the blameless tenor of his administration: The intelligence of his recovery was welcomed by marks of unfeigned and unbounded transport; but it was soon discovered that he no longer possessed that clear comprehension and strength of judgment, which had formerly characterized him. The doubtful state of his intellects rendered it necessary that the royal power should be vested in more able hands; and the competition for the regency brought forward two characters which hitherto had been concealed from public observation. Isabella, the consort of the unfortunate monarch, has already been celebrated for her uncommon beauty and insinuating address: But these qualities were alloyed by a mind violent, vindictive, and intriguing; by a heart insensible to the natural affections of a parent, but open to flattery, and susceptible of the impression of every lawless passion. The duke of Orleans, the brother of the king, had but just entered his twentieth year; his person was graceful, his features animated, and he was by nature and education formed

to succeed in gallantry; his early marriage with Valentina, the daughter of the duke of Milan, a princess of extraordinary charms and accomplishments, did not prevent him from engaging in a variety of licentious amours; and his intimacy with his royal sister-in-law was abhorred as criminal and incestuous. Profuse and prodigal, his hopes were inflamed by the partiality of the queen; and he openly aspired to the regency: But the states regarded him with prudent distrust; and conferred the administration of affairs on the more mature years of his uncle, the duke of Burgundy. Oliver Clisson, persecuted by that prince, and deprived of the sword of constable, which was bestowed on the count of Eu, retired into his native province, defended his possessions in that country by his own valour and that of his vassals, and at length effected a reconciliation with the duke of Brittany.

A few months seemed to restore the
A.D. 1393. health and understanding of the wretched Charles, when an accident scarce less extraordinary than the first, plunged him into his former phrenzy. An entertainment had been given in honour of the marriage of one of the queen's attendants; and six masques entered the apartment, disguised like satyrs, in dresses made of linen, covered with rosin, and while warm powdered

dered with down: These were the king and five lords of his court. The person of Charles attracted the notice of the duchess of Berri; and although ignorant who he was, she engaged him in conversation. In the mean time the duke of Orleans, out of levity, ran a lighted torch against one of the party; the flame was instantly communicated to the rest; and amidst their torments, they repeatedly cried out, "Save the king! Save the king!" The duchess of Berri, recollecting that it must be the masque with whom she had been conversing, wrapped him in her cloak, and preserved him from the danger. One escaped by jumping into a cistern of water; but the other four perished in the greatest agonies. The terror of the king was attended by an instant relapse; and the unhappy delirium continued, though with some intervals of reason, to the last moments of his life.

In his most distracted state, Valentina, duchess of Orleans, gained the same ascendancy over the mind of Charles, as her consort had acquired over that of the queen. She alone was grateful to him; and she only could sooth by her presence the fury which frequently convulsed his frame. An ignorant and superstitious age attributed her influence to magical incantations; but insanity itself is not insensible to the power of beauty;

and the enmity of her rivals pursued the authority which she had attained by her superior charms. The duchess of Burgundy in particular distinguished herself by an implacable hatred; and the quarrels of these ladies were soon extended to, and perpetuated by, their husbands. Yet their own prudence suggested to them to court the people by restraining within proper bounds the public expenditure; and to conciliate the affections of the parliament, by preserving inviolate the rights and privileges of the Commons. Among other regulations which marked their administration, was one which, though ineffectual, does credit to their intentions, and will meet the applause, though it condemns the practice, of modern times. They endeavoured by wholesome penalties to check the rage for gaming, which already began to appear, and to substitute martial and manly exercises in its place.

A. D. 1394. This year a schism broke out in the court of Rome, which for forty successive years distracted its councils, and divided the opinions of its followers. For some time past the popes had resided at Avignon; but Gregory the Eleventh had been persuaded to return to Rome, and expired there. The Romans, suspicious lest the seat of papacy should be transferred again to Avignon, tumultuously surrounded the conclave, and compelled the electors to raise

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to the vacant chair of St. Peter, Urban the Sixth, by birth an Italian: But the majority of cardinals, who were French, no sooner had recovered their liberty, than they fled from Rome, protested against the election as the effect of compulsion, and chose Robert, son of the count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement the Seventh, and established his residence at Avignon. The different kingdoms of Christendom were divided between the two pontiffs; and France, after an ineffectual effort to compose the difference, adhered, with her allies of Castile and Scotland, to the cause of Clement; while England declared for Urban. Each party was described by the different appellations of *Clementines* and *Urbanites*; and each mutually branded the other with the opprobrious term of Schismatics, and rebels to the true successor of St. Peter.

In the intervals of recovery, Charles frequently resumed his authority. The A.D. 1396.
war between the French and English had been carried on with languor, and the two kings, equally tired of these fruitless hostilities, began to think in earnest of a lasting peace. An interview for this purpose was appointed near Calais; but they found their pretensions still so difficult to adjust, that they were content to establish a truce for twenty-five years. Charles prevailed on Richard

the Second to restore Cherbourg to France, and Brest to the duke of Brittany. To draw the bands of amity between the two monarchs still closer, Richard, now a widower, was contracted to Isabella, the daughter of Charles, a princess then only seven years of age. But this marriage, from which the king of England hoped to derive some protection against the ambition of his uncles and the turbulence of his barons, was never consummated, on account of the inequality of their years.

Sigismond, king of Hungary, had implored the assistance of France, to check the rapid progress of Bajazet, the sultan of the Ottomans, who had already swept away whatever adhered to the Greek empire in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly. To the defence of Hungary marched the flower of French chivalry, animated by the presence of John, count of Nevers, eldest son of the duke of Burgundy; the count of Eu, constable, John de Vienne, admiral, of France, and the count of Marche, a peer of the blood royal. The ardour of these gallant princes was tempered by the experience of de Courcy, one of the best and oldest captains of Christendom. But in the day of action they rejected his prudent counsels, and the moderate advice of Sigismond. On the approach of the Turks, at the head of their martial

martial train, which scarce exceeded a thousand knights and esquires, just risen from the pleasures of the table, and heated with wine, they charged the vanguard of the infidels with inconsiderate valour. Their presumption was fatal to themselves, and to the cause of Sigismond: In the plains of Nicopolis they were deserted by the Hungarians, and overwhelmed by myriads of the Ottomans. The count of Nevers, and twenty-four other lords, whose birth promised the advantage of a splendid ransom, were preserved by the avarice of Bajazet; the remainder of the French captives were successively led before the throne; and as they refused to abjure their faith, were beheaded in the presence of the sultan, exasperated by the loss of his bravest janissaries. The survivors were a long time confined at Bourfa, the royal residence of the victor; and were at length ransomed for the sum of two hundred thousand ducats.

The relapses of Charles became every day more violent; the fatal effects of his former phrenzy were indelibly impressed on his mind; and one day, sensible of the rapid approach of his delirium, he called to the duke of Burgundy to disarm him, lest again he should injure any of his subjects. About this time the ancient adversary of France and ally of England, John, duke of Brittany, expired; and bequeathed

his children to the protection of Oliver Clifton, whose honourable enmity he had so frequently experienced, and whose friendship he had so lately cultivated. Clifton proved himself worthy of the confidence of his master : At that prince's decease he was confined to his bed by indisposition ; and his daughter, the countess of Penthievre, who had married the competitor of the late duke, proposed to her father to seize the favourable moment, and to restore the duchy to her children. The soul of Clifton was incapable of treachery ; and the feelings of the parent were lost in indignation ; he darted a javelin, which stood at his bed's head, at his daughter : The countess, in endeavouring to escape, fell down stairs ; her thigh was broken ; and her lameness ever after attested her own disgrace and the unshaken fidelity of her father.

A. D. 1399. In England, a different and more turbulent scene presented itself. The weakness and dissipation of Richard the Second had nourished the ambition of his nobles ; and the duke of Hereford, the son of the duke of Lancaster, and the cousin of the king, was distinguished above the rest by the formidable qualities of courage, of prudence, and of insinuating address. Banished by the king for his intrigues, during his absence the title of Lancaster devolved

on him by the death of his father. The profusion of the king rendered it necessary for him to replenish his coffers by means the most inconsistent with justice; and he seized to his own use, contrary to his royal word, the inheritance of his exiled kinsman. Henry of Lancaster was connected with the principal nobility in blood, alliance, or friendship: These considered the injury in its consequences as likely to affect them all: The common people were already gained by his courteous manners; and the different ranks of the English turned their eyes upon him, as the only person who could retrieve the honour of the nation, or redress the abuses of government.

Richard had himself embarked for Ireland, to chastise the revolt of the natives; and had left his kingdom open to the enterprises of his ambitious enemy; when the duke of Lancaster landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, with a train of sixty persons, among whom were the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Arundel, the nephew of that prelate. They were immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; and the spirit of disaffection, in a few days' march, swelled the army of Henry to sixty thousand men. The duke of York, who had been left regent of the realm, was equally disqualified by his slender capacity and natural connexions, from checking the

the progress of his nephew; who yet only claimed, as a loyal suppliant, his legal patrimony. But the king himself, on the news of this formidable invasion, and the additional intelligence that several of his ministers had fallen victims to the wishes of the people and the authority of Henry, hastened from Ireland. At Milford Haven he disembarked an army of twenty thousand men; but these soon caught the general contagion, and deserted their unfortunate sovereign. Richard, hopeless of succour, surrendered himself to the earl of Northumberland, was conveyed to London, and was deposed by the tumultuous clamours of his subjects and the irregular decision of a partial and factious parliament. His successful kinsman, the duke of Lancaster, was raised to the vacant throne; and soon extinguished, by the death of his former sovereign, his apprehensions from the compassion of a fickle and generous people.

A. D. 1400, 1403. Wenceslaus, emperor of Germany, had implored the assistance of France to restore him to that dignity of which he had been deprived by the electors; and Manuel Paleologus, the emperor of Constantinople, appeared a suppliant at Paris, to arouse again the ardour of the French to the encounter of Bajazet, and the defence of the imperial city. To the aid of Wenceslaus,

ceßlaus, the duke of Orleans led a gallant army; acquired for himself the duchy of Luxemburgh; and left his ally satisfied with the kingdom of Bohemia: while the arms of Bajazet were diverted from Europe by the invasion of Tamerlane, the Mogul emperor; and Paleologus was left at liberty to return and occupy Constantinople. But although foreign empires sought the succour and support of France, the internal government of that kingdom presented a picture of frightful anarchy and confusion. The unhappy malady of Charles seemed daily to gain ground; and the discordant interests and contending parties of the two dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, grew up into factions of the most rancorous and inveterate animosity. The former, by his own dominion over the affections of the queen, and by the influence of his duchess over the king, gained a transient superiority, and obtained a commission which created him lieutenant-general and governor of the realm: But he abused his power to levy new imposts on the people; and his imprudence even included the church in the impartial oppression. A burst of general resentment drove him from the helm, and called to it the duke of Burgundy. The passions of these haughty and ambitious chiefs might perhaps have instantly kindled the flames of civil war, had not their rage been in
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some measure appeased by the mediation of the duke of Bourbon, the only prince who approached the throne, and maintained a character pure and unspotted.

Yet some praise must be allowed to A.D. 1404. the policy of the duke of Burgundy, which allured to Paris the youthful sons of the late duke of Brittany, and preserved them from being seduced by the arts of Henry the Fourth of England, who had married their mother to strengthen his interest in that province. Perhaps his life might have shielded France from the calamities which afterwards overwhelmed it: His premature death, at this critical period, exposed it, without chart or pilot, to the fury of the storm. He was succeeded in his dominions by his son John, count of Nevers, surnamed the *Fearless*, and who inherited the enmity of his father to the duke of Orleans, without possessing his judgment or apparent moderation.

A.D. 1405. The queen and the duke of Orleans had again seized the administration: They were again driven from it by the virtuous clamours of a people, who regarded their intimacy with honest indignation. While their respective courts had been maintained in luxury and magnificence, the unhappy Charles and his children had been abandoned to the most abject distress; they were

were relieved and treated with respect and attention by the duke of Burgundy, who was nominated by the general voice of the public to the regency, on the retreat of Isabella and the duke of Orleans to Melun: When suddenly the king seemed to emerge from the darkness which had so long obscured his understanding; his reason returned for a longer interval; he deprived the rival dukes of the authority which they had alternately enjoyed, and alternately abused; and vested the entire government in the queen and a council of state composed of the princes of the blood.

The dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, alike precluded from interfering in the cabinet, determined to exercise their restless tempers in martial enterprises against the English. They were encouraged by the tottering throne of Henry the Fourth, continually assailed by secret conspiracies and open rebellions. But the invasion of Guienne, and the attempt on Calais, proved equally unsuccessful; and the ministers of Charles, after obtaining the restoration of his daughter, who had been contracted to Richard the Second, consented to renew the truce between the two kingdoms. The failure of their different expeditions re-kindled the animosity of the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy; and they mutually attributed their disappointments to each other. At the

the intreaties of the duke of Berri they consented to a reconciliation; they embraced at Paris, in the presence of their uncle; and even vowed on the sacrament, to bury in oblivion the remembrance of former enmity.

But these solemn pledges of friendship were prostituted by the duke of Burgundy more easily to satiate his vengeance. A contention for power was inflamed by the rage of jealousy; and he suspected the duke of Orleans, whose character for gallantry was notorious, of having violated the honour of his marriage bed. The injury was mortal; but the means which he pursued to obtain his revenge were unworthy of his family and his former fame. As the duke of Orleans returned in the dark from the hotel of St. Pol, where he had passed the evening with the queen, mounted on a mule, and only accompanied by two pages, he was suddenly attacked by eighteen assassins, headed by a Norman gentleman whom he had deprived of an employment. With the first blow of a battle-axe he cut off the duke's hand; at the second he struck him from his mule; and with the third he clove his skull, leaving him dead on the ground.

A. D. 1408, 1414. The duke of Burgundy at first affected to lament the death of his noble kinsman with well-dissimbled sorrow; he

appeared

appeared at his funeral; and his sighs were even accompanied by tears. But when it was proposed, at the request of the provost of Paris, to search the houses of the different princes, his countenance betrayed the guilty secret. Conscious of his danger, to the duke of Bourbon he acknowledged himself the author of the bloody deed; and, with his band of assassins, he eluded the immediate sword of justice by a precipitate flight into Flanders. Valentina, the widow of the late duke of Orleans, oppressed by grief, soon followed her husband to the grave; but her son, though only sixteen years of age, and who succeeded to his father's honours, loudly demanded vengeance on the murderer. The kingdom was rent between the two factions, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs; for so the adherents of the duke of Orleans were called, from the count of Armagnac, the father-in-law of that prince. The duke of Burgundy had, at the head of a numerous army, returned to the capital, and extorted a pardon from the feeble king, who seized sometimes by one party, sometimes by the other, transferred alternately to each of them the appearance of legal authority; and some idea may be formed of the rage which desolated the kingdom, since in Paris only, two thousand citizens perished in one commotion.

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The misery of France scarce seemed to admit of any addition, when the calamities of internal discord, which almost bowed the monarchy to the ground, were unexpectedly augmented by the fury of foreign invasion. The pretensions which had dyed with blood the fields of Crecy and Poictiers, were again revived by the crown of England: And to a warlike prince, already wreathed with victory, and early educated in fields of battle, France could only oppose an insane king; an inexperienced dauphin, whose character, fickle, inconstant and dissolute, accumulated the evils of the state; and a nobility divided in principle, and pursuing each other with active enmity and unabated rage.

Chapter the Sixteenth.

INVASION OF FRANCE BY HENRY THE FIFTH, KING OF ENGLAND. — BATTLE OF AZINCOURT. — DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE DAUPHIN CHARLES AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY. — PROGRESS OF THE ENGLISH. — ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY. — HENRY ESPOUSES CATHARINE, DAUGHTER TO THE KING OF FRANCE, AND IS DECLARED REGENT AND HEIR OF THAT KINGDOM. — DEATHS OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

THE crown of England, which Henry A. D. 1415. the Fourth acquired by rebellion, and which he stained by the murder of the prince whom he deposed, he preserved by his policy and valour. His son Henry the Fifth inherited it by a purer title; and it was the advice of his dying father to divert the restless spirits of the English from intestine commotions to foreign wars. The dissensions of France presented a favourable opportunity; the new monarch was scarce established on

throne before all England resounded with his preparations; and the ministers of Charles were astonished at the demand, as the price of peace, of Catharine, the French king's daughter, in marriage; two millions of crowns, as her portion; one million six hundred thousand, as the arrears of king John's ransom; and the immediate possession and full sovereignty of all the other provinces which had been ravished from England by the arms of Philip Augustus, together with the superiority of Brittany and Flanders.

A short interval of reason had allowed the king at this period to resume the reins of government, and he had displayed a transient vigour in repressing the factions of the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, and compelling them to submit to the terms that he prescribed. But his council, conscious how little dependance could be placed on the present calm, were willing to avert the storm which threatened them from abroad. Instead of rejecting these exorbitant demands with contempt, they offered to Henry the princess Catharine, with a portion of eight hundred thousand crowns; the entire sovereignty of Guienne; and to annex to that province the countries of Perigord, Rovergue, Saintonge, the Angoumois, and other territories. But the negociation of the king of England had never been serious; the minds of his subjects could

could only be diverted from the means by which his father had acquired the crown, by an invasion of France; he rejected these conditions, continued his preparations for war, and assembled a formidable armament at the port of Southampton.

That wealth with which the ministers of France had endeavoured to purchase peace, they employed to foment the discontents of the subjects of Henry, and allured several of his nobility into a conspiracy against their sovereign. But their treason was discovered, and their dark designs proved only fatal to themselves; while France, at the moment that she depended on the success of her intrigues, was alarmed and dismayed by the intelligence that Henry, with an army of six thousand men at arms and twenty-four thousand foot, had landed near Harfleur, and pressed the siege of that town, which, after an obstinate defence, was compelled to capitulate.

But the gallantry of the governor and garrison of Harfleur allowed France time to collect her forces; an army of fourteen thousand men at arms, and forty thousand foot, was assembled in Normandy, under the constable d'Albert; while the fatigues of the siege, and the uncommon heat of the season, had wasted the numbers of the English to one half of their original force. Henry had already dismissed his transports, which would have been

endangered on an open coast; and sensible of the difficulties which must have attended his march to Calais, he offered to purchase a safe retreat at the expence of his new conquest of Harfleur. But the army of the constable was already joined by the dauphin and the princes of the blood; impatient to signalize themselves, and efface the disgrace of Crecy and Poictiers, they rejected the proposal; and the king of England found he must place his sole reliance on his own conduct and valour. He slowly pointed his march towards the river Somme, which he hoped to pass at the same ford as had proved so auspicious to his predecessor Edward. In this he was disappointed by the precautions of the French; and as he advanced along the banks of the river, his provisions hourly diminished and his difficulties increased. At length he surpris'd a passage near St. Quintin; but he had scarcely reached the opposite side, before the French, who pressed upon his footsteps, traversed the Somme also, and posted themselves between the English army and Calais.

The experience of former defeats, it might naturally have been expected, would have checked the impetuosity of the French, and would have taught them to have extinguished their adversary without trusting to the uncertain event of a field of battle: But in an age when the art of war
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was little understood, and when all glory consisted in personal prowess; it was difficult to restrain the swelling spirits of a martial nobility, who considered the presence of their enemy as an insult. The dauphin and the duke of Berri had absented themselves to attend the king, who was oppressed by a return of his indisposition; and the command was entrusted to the constable d'Albert, who in his determination to fight, and in the disposition which he made, shewed himself equally unworthy of the confidence reposed in him. The plains of Azincourt have been rendered immortal by this celebrated action. Henry no sooner found his retreat intercepted by the appearance of the enemy, than he drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded each flank; and patiently awaited the charge of his foes, whose numbers four times exceeded his own.

In the battle of Azincourt we review that of Poitiers; the French charged with the same contempt of danger and discipline; the English received them with the same cool and deliberate intrepidity. The former were led on by a generous nobility, and encouraged by their superior numbers; the latter were animated by the presence of their king, and the memory of ancient glory. The event was such as might be expected; the French were disordered by their own impe-

tuosity, and their numbers served only to increase their confusion and disgrace. Their cavalry were entangled in the heavy ground on which they engaged; and, incapable of flight or resistance, were slaughtered by the battle-axes of the English. The constable himself, the count of Nevers, and the duke of Brabant, both brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the dukes of Alençon and Barre, the counts of Vaudemont and Marle, scorning to survive this national calamity, rushed into the midst of the tumult, and perished, with above ten thousand of their followers. The dukes of Orleans and Bourbon; the counts of Eu, Vendome, and Richemont; the mareschal of Boucicaut; and above fourteen thousand of inferior rank, were taken prisoners: While on the side of the English, the duke of York was the only person of consequence who fell; and their whole loss did not exceed forty men.

A.D. Henry immediately pursued his triumphant march to Calais; but the inconsiderable number of his troops did not allow him to improve his advantage. From Calais he passed over with his prisoners to England, and soon after concluded a truce with the ministers of Charles. But whatever reasons might deter the English monarch from returning with fresh forces to the instant conquest of France, that kingdom,

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on the news of his victory, was shaken by the most violent convulsions. Consternation and affright pervaded every province; and the death of the dauphin Lewis, though his character afforded no promise of happier times, heightened the confusion, by the suspicious circumstances which accompanied his indisposition. His second brother John, who succeeded to his rights and title, and who had married the daughter of the duke of Burgundy, within a year was involved in the same unexpected fate; and the voice of a jealous people, which even glanced at the queen, more loudly accused the king of Sicily, the son of the duke of Anjou, who expired at Calabria, of administering poison to John, that he might promote the interest of Charles, the third son of the king of France, on whom his daughter had bestowed her hand, and on whom the title of dauphin now devolved.

The sword of constable had been bestowed, after the defeat of Azincourt, on A. D. 1417.
the count of Armagnac; whose enterprising measures compelled the duke of Burgundy to relinquish the administration that he had usurped, and drove him from court to seek refuge in his own territories. From thence he was soon invited by new dissensions in the royal family. The queen had amassed, by years of successive rapacity, an immense treasure; the dauphin was persuaded not only to seize

it for the public use, but at the same time to execute an act of exemplary vengeance on one of her minions who had dishonoured his father's bed. The queen herself was sent to Tours, and strictly confined. But the spirit of Isabella could ill brook these reiterated insults; and she no longer scrupled to enter into a correspondence with the duke of Burgundy. As her son, the dauphin, was attached to the house of Orleans, she soon extended her resentment to him. Delivered from her confinement by the arms of the duke of Burgundy, she is supposed to have received that prince with the same criminal complaisance as she had before shewn to the duke of Orleans whom he had caused to be assassinated. She assumed the title and authority of regent, to which she had been nominated by a former edict of the king. She fixed the seat of her independent residence at Troyes; and sanctioned by her name the enterprizes of her new ally against the ministers of her son, who, she asserted, detained her royal consort in captivity.

A.D. 1418, 1419. Henry the Fifth had landed again in Normandy, and reduced that fertile province to his obedience. Lisle-Adam, one of the captains of the duke of Burgundy, suddenly presented himself before the gates of Paris; was admitted into the city by the partiality or treachery of a burgher; and headed an insurrection of the people,

people, in which the person of the king was seized, and the count of Armagnac, the chancellor, and the principal adherents of the Orleans party, were inhumanly massacred. The dauphin himself escaped with difficulty, through the vigilance and address of Tannegui de Chastel; and, rejecting the solicitations of his mother to return to Paris, secured himself within the walls of Poitiers.

The king of England, with an army superior to open resistance, had already shaken the walls of Rouen. To the cardinal des Ursins, who entreated him to think of peace, and to moderate his pretensions, "Do you not see," he replied, "that God has led me hither as by the hand: Every thing here is in the utmost confusion; no one thinks of resisting me. Can I have a more sensible proof that the Being who disposes of empires has determined to place the crown of France on my head?" Yet Henry was sensible what obstacles still remained for him to surmount; he had already experienced the difficulties of procuring supplies from the English parliament; and his coffers were exhausted by a succession of victories. However flattering the prospect might be to his ambition, his policy induced him gradually to lessen his demands; and he fixed, as the price of peace, his marriage with the princess Catharine, and all the provinces ceded to Edward the Third by the treaty of Bre-
tigny,

tigny, with the addition of Normandy, which he was to receive in full and entire sovereignty. Isabella, destitute of every feeling as a queen and a mother, and insatiate of revenge against her personal enemies, instantly closed with the terms proposed, and even conducted her daughter to Troyes, in Champagne, where the nuptials with Henry were to be solemnized. But the duke of Burgundy still hesitated. Whether a spark of patriotism still glowed within his bosom, and suffered him not to subscribe a treaty so pernicious to his country; whether he dreaded the rising genius of Henry, and foresaw his own ruin in the aggrandisement of the English monarch, he seized the interval, pressed his negotiations with the dauphin, and consented to an accommodation to rescue his country from destruction.

Whatever were the views of the duke of Burgundy, the conduct of the dauphin has
A. D. 1419. for ever stained his memory with the blackest treachery. An interview was appointed between the two princes at the bridge of Montreau-sur-Yonne: But the former was still conscious of his dark and bloody crime in the assassination of the duke of Orleans; he dreaded the vengeance due to his guilt, and studiously procrastinated the fatal hour of conference. Every precaution was taken to remove his fears; lofty rails were erected across the bridge; and it was agreed that

that only ten persons on each side should be admitted into the vacant space. Even to the last moment his reluctance was extreme; but he had now advanced too far to retreat. He entered the fatal gate, and threw himself at the feet of the dauphin: At that instant, Tannegui de Chastel, with several others of the dauphin's party, and who had been attached to the late duke of Orleans, sprung over the barrier. The first blow was given by Chastel; and the duke of Burgundy immediately fell, pierced with an hundred wounds. His friends, astonished, and incapable of resistance, were either taken prisoners, or involved in his fate.

The patience of the reader must have been already fatigued by the long series of bloody crimes which marks this turbulent and sanguinary æra; but the last atrocious deed claims such a pre-eminence of guilt as again awakens our attention and indignation: We behold a prince, on whom an extensive kingdom long harassed by foreign and domestic war, rested her last hopes, despise all principles of honour, trample on every law, and become the base accomplice of a cowardly assassination. The extreme youth of the dauphin has indeed been pleaded in extenuation of his conduct; but in his more mature years he retained about his person, and distinguished by every mark
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of affection and confidence the perpetrators of the flagitious action. The bands of civil society were loosened by the royal example; and the flames of war, which might have been extinguished, or their fury at least assuaged, broke forth with increase of violence. Isabella, loud in her complaints, and impatient for vengeance, instantly bestowed the hand of Catharine on Henry, and celebrated their nuptials at Troyes. Philip, the son of the duke of Burgundy, and who succeeded to the honours and dominions of his father, joined the English standard, and only stipulated the marriage of his sister with the duke of Bedford, the brother of Henry, and the proscription of his father's assassins. The city of Paris, long partial to the house of Burgundy, rose in arms, and filled every street with scenes of bloody tumult; while the unhappy Charles the Sixth, sunk into imbecility, and delivered into the hands of the natural enemy of his country, sanctioned by his name the unbounded ambition of Henry, and the implacable passions of Isabella.

A.D. 1420. In the new treaty concluded between the kings of France and England and the duke of Burgundy, it was agreed that Charles during his life should enjoy the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry should be declared heir, and immediately entrusted with the reins

reins of government, and that that kingdom should pass to his heirs general; that France and England should for ever be united under one king, but should still retain their several usages, customs, and privileges; that all the princes, peers, vassals, and communities of France should swear, that they would both adhere to the future succession of Henry, and pay him present obedience as regent; that this prince should unite his arms to those of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the adherents of the pretended dauphin; and that these three princes should make no peace or truce with him but by common consent and agreement.

As soon as the dauphin received intelligence of the treaty of Troyes, he A. D 1421. assumed the title of regent, and declared his determination to depend for the maintenance of it on God and his sword. But unable to resist the confederacy of his enemies, he retired into the southern provinces, and fortified himself in the countries beyond the Loire. Henry, in the meantime, occupied Sens, and made himself master of Montereau; where the duke of Burgundy found the corpse of his father indecently buried in the cloaths in which he was slain. His pious care embalmed it, and conveyed it in a leaden coffin to Dijon. The garrison and governor of Melun
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for four months checked the progress of the English; but that town was at length reduced; and Henry, after entrusting Paris to the vigilance of his uncle, the duke of Exeter, crossed over to England, to provide the supplies necessary for the ensuing campaign. He had already levied a new army of four thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand archers, when his embarkation was hastened by an important and unexpected defeat.

When Charles, the dauphin, retired beyond the Loire, he was almost entirely destitute of money or troops. The former he procured to supply his present exigencies by the dangerous measure of debasing his coin; and Scotland, jealous of the progress of Henry, and fearful of the inevitable ruin of her ancient ally, permitted a body of seven thousand men, under the command of the earl of Buchan, second son to the duke of Albany, then regent of the kingdom, to be transported to France for the support of the dauphin. Henry had endeavoured to recall these in the name of the Scottish king, at that time his prisoner; but the earl of Buchan replied, that he would obey no commands which came from a king in captivity; and that a prince, while in the hands of his enemy, was entitled to no authority.

The duke of Clarence, a younger brother of the

the king of England, had made an incursion into Anjou, and had attempted to surprise the Scotch, then encamped by themselves at Beauge. The earl of Buchan in a few moments gave to his troops an order and a field of battle. Victory was long obstinately disputed; but the English were at last defeated. The duke of Clarence himself was slain by Sir Allan Swinton, a Scotch knight; the earls of Somerset, Dorset, and Huntingdon were taken prisoners. Charles received with transport the news of this first advantage which he had obtained over the arms of his enemies; and to reward the services of the earl of Buchan, he bestowed on him the sword of constable.

But his exultation soon faded on the arrival of Henry: The king of England was received in Paris by the acclamations of the citizens; and he immediately led his army to the relief of Chartres, which was besieged by the dauphin. That prince was compelled to retire before the superior numbers of his rival, who pursued him as far as Orleans. On his return he received the submission of Dreux; and at the request of the Parisians besieged Meaux: It was obstinately defended by the bastard of Varus, as renowned for his bravery as he was detested for his inhumanity. He had ignominiously executed all the English
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and adherents of the duke of Burgundy who fell into his hands. His despair protracted his fate for eight months: At length Meaux surrendered; and Henry immediately commanded the governor to be suspended from a neighbouring tree, the instrument of his former barbarities.

At Paris, a solemn process was instituted against the dauphin for the murder of the duke of Burgundy: He was summoned to appear before a tribunal of his enemies; his absence was construed into a proof of his guilt; and he was pronounced incapable of succeeding to the crown.

This sentence was soon after followed by the intelligence that queen Catharine was delivered of a son at Windsor; the event was celebrated by equal rejoicings at Paris and at London; the royal infant, who was baptized by the name of his father, Henry, was considered as the successor to both kingdoms, and seemed to extinguish even the hopes of the dauphin. That prince, chased beyond the Loire, deserted entirely by the northern provinces, destitute of treasures and troops to oppose his prosperous competitor, prepared to meet with fortitude the destruction which it seemed impossible to avoid; when he was preserved by one of those fortunate incidents which so often baffle the plans of the most profound policy, and decide the fate of empires.

Henry

Henry had determined to open the
 ensuing campaign with the invasion of A.D. 1422.
 Picardy, and appeared in the field early in the
 month of July. The united forces of the Eng-
 lish and Burgundians threatened to overwhelm all
 opposition: But while he halted at Senlis, to al-
 low the earl of Warwick time to scour the adja-
 cent country, he was re-called to Paris by the in-
 telligence that the fickle citizens wavered in their
 allegiance, and had already entered into a cor-
 respondence with the dauphin, to betray the ca-
 pital into his power. The unexpected appearance
 of Henry confounded their intrigues, and com-
 manded their obedience. The king of England
 immediately returned to Senlis, to press the ope-
 rations of war; where, amidst the pride of vic-
 tory, and the prospect of dominion, he was at-
 tacked by a complaint, which the ignorance of
 the age rendered mortal. A fistula with which
 he was seized, soon terminated in a mortification;
 and Henry, sensible of his approaching end, de-
 voted, with manly firmness, the few remaining
 moments of life to the concerns of his kingdom
 and his family, and to the pious duties of re-
 ligion.

To the duke of Bedford, his elder brother, he
 left the regency of France; that of England he
 committed to the duke of Gloucester, his younger

brother; and to the earl of Warwick he entrusted the important care of his son's person and education. He entreated these noblemen to continue to his infant offspring the fidelity and attachment which he himself had always experienced from them; he expressed his confidence that the final acquisition of France would be the effect of their prudence and valour; he recommended to them to maintain the friendship of the duke of Burgundy; never to give liberty to the French prisoners taken at Azincourt, till his son was of age, and could hold the reins of government himself: And he conjured them, if the success of their arms should not enable them to place young Henry on the throne of France, never to make peace with that kingdom, unless Charles of Valois, for so he termed the dauphin, should consent at least to annex Normandy to the crown of England, as some compensation for the enterprises he had engaged in, and for the pretensions which they would relinquish.

After having thus delivered his advice to the nobles whom he honoured with his friendship, the dying monarch assiduously applied himself to his devotions, and declared his serious intention, when he had completely subdued France, to have marched against the infidels, and attempted the recovery of the Holy Land. Even the mind of

Henry, strong and penetrating as it was, had not escaped the prejudices of a martial and superstitious age; and he hoped to atone for the crimes of his father, and the bloody consequences of his own ambition, by again deluging Palestine with the blood of unbelievers: Consoled by this pious resolution, with the calmest tranquillity he expired in the tenth year of his reign, and the thirty-fourth year of his age.

As the successful invader, and the nominal regent of France, the character of Henry commands our attention; his abilities were equally distinguished in the field and the cabinet; and while we admire the boldness of his enterprizes, we cannot refuse our praise to the skilful manner in which they were conducted: His affability attached to his service his friends; his address and clemency vanquished his enemies. The unceasing attention which he paid to the administration of justice, and the severe discipline which he preserved in his armies, alleviated the calamities of the incessant hostilities by which France and England were agitated during his short and splendid reign. He received into favour the earl of Marche, who had a better title to the crown of England than himself; and that nobleman safely confided in the friendship of a monarch, above the low jealousies which so frequently reside in royal bosoms. One frailty only

seems to have alloyed the purity of his character; but it was the blemish of a great and noble mind; the love of arms and military glory.

A. D. 1422. The unhappy Charles, the father-in-law of Henry, survived him only fifty-six days: The dawn of his understanding had presented the fairest prospect to his subjects; but it was overcast by the clouds of insanity; and the transient return of reason served only to expose to him the infamy of his consort, the misery of his people, and his own wretchedness. After the death of the duchess of Orleans, his queen presented to him another mistress, who soon acquired the same ascendancy over him. Odette de Champdivers was daughter to a dealer in horses; young, lively, and beautiful, she alone had any influence over the distracted Charles, who cohabited with her, and even had by her a daughter, named Margaret de Valois, whom his successor acknowledged as his sister, and liberally portioned. In the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign, Charles was dismissed from a life of misery to the grave: His last moments were attended only by a single gentleman of the bed-chamber, a confessor, and an almoner; and the ceremony of his funeral was hastily performed without the honours due to his rank, or the attendance of the princes of his blood.

Chapter

Chapter the Seventeenth.

CHARACTER OF CHARLES THE SEVENTH.—CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.—BATTLES OF CREVANT AND VERNEUIL.—DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE DUKES OF BURGUNDY AND GLOCESTER.—SIEGE OF ORLEANS.—BATTLE OF HERINGS.—ACCOUNT OF JOAN D'ARC, SURNAMED THE MAID OF ORLEANS;—ENTERS ORLEANS, AND STORMS THE ENTRENCHMENTS OF THE ENGLISH.—THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS RAISED.

IT is the celebrated remark of a profound historian, “that there is in all A.D. 1422.
 “ governments an ultimate point of depression
 “ and elevation, at which affairs revert and re-
 “ turn in a contrary direction;” and the justice of the observation is strongly exemplified in that æra of the French monarchy which is the immediate object of our attention. Great part of the nobility of France had perished on the fatal plains

of Azincourt; her princes were the captives of the victors, or had drawn their hostile swords against each other; her provinces were ravaged, her treasures exhausted, and her cities depopulated. The feeble age of Henry the Sixth, at the decease of his father only nine months old, was supplied by the integrity, the ability, and the experience of his two uncles, the dukes of Bedford and of Gloucester. On the former, the administration of France was devolved; his prudence, his valour, and his generosity qualified him for the important trust; he was seconded by the most renowned generals of the age, and was at the head of armies enured to victory, while the whole power of England was at his command; and the northern provinces of France, already reduced to submission, contributed their efforts to involve the remainder of the kingdom in the same subjection.

The messenger which imparted to the dauphin the news of his father's death, added the unwelcome tidings that Henry of Lancaster had been solemnly proclaimed at Paris, king of England and of France. A fugitive in the mountains of Auvergne, attended only by some princes of the blood, and a few brave adventurers, Charles hesitated not to assume a title to which he had so just a claim; he was saluted king by his faithful
band

band of adherents; and, in the twentieth year of his age, was crowned at Poitiers; Rheims, the usual place for that ceremony, being then in the hands of the English. But amidst the distresses which surrounded him, to maintain the dignity of his new station required every exertion of prudence and activity; so extreme was his penury, that by the sale of his royal consort's plate and jewels, he could scarce supply the immediate demands for his dress and table. A powerful and prosperous monarchy was armed against him; his own capital, with the most desirable provinces of his kingdom, refused their allegiance; and even those who by the ties of blood and nature were bound to support him, were closely leagued with his enemies. His kinsman, Philip, duke of Burgundy, pursued him as the assassin of his father; and his mother Isabella assailed his life with unwearied rage and unnatural enmity.

Yet some rays of hope gleamed through the clouds of adversity which darkened his accession. He was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy; all zealous Frenchmen considered his establishment as the test of the independence of their country; the act of exclusion which had passed at Paris, was regarded with just contempt; the injuries which France had suffered in a long [course of hostilities, had inflamed the minds of the

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inhabitants

inhabitants against the English, and taught them to look up to Charles as their deliverer: They beheld the implacability of Isabella with horror; and they loaded the duke of Burgundy with reproaches for sacrificing the interests of his country, to his private resentments.

The character of Charles the Seventh. began about this time to unfold itself. The guilt of Montereau was lost in a disposition which on every other occasion seemed distinguished by its benignity and generosity. Easy and familiar in his manners, he secured the love of those who approached his presence; mild and forgiving, his pardon was readily extended to those who had even insulted his person and his throne. Though the love of pleasure might sometimes triumph over the duties of his station, yet on great emergencies, and in the hour of danger, he displayed a spirit which attracted the admiration of a gallant people. A few days before the death of his father, he was preserved from destruction by an accident which impressed his followers with the most auspicious hopes, and the visible protection of a Divine Providence. The room, in which he was giving audience at Rochelle, suddenly fell in; many were killed, most were wounded; but the chair of the dauphin, in its descent, was intercepted by a thick wall, on which it fortunately

nately rested; and he remained unhurt amidst the general tumult and distraction.

The attention of his adversary, the duke of Bedford, immediately on the A.D. 1423. death of his brother, had been prudently directed to strengthen the interests of the English by new alliances. The provinces which they had already subdued, lay between the dominions of the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany; and the friendship of the latter was an object of the highest importance. He had already been repeatedly disgusted by the ministers of Charles, and had acceded to the treaty of Troyes: His brother, the count of Richemont, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Azincourt, possessed an unbounded influence over him. The regent released the count from his parole, on which he had been permitted by Henry the Fifth to visit his native country; he persuaded the duke of Burgundy, whose younger sister he himself had married, to bestow on him the hand of his eldest sister, the widow of the deceased dauphin Lewis, the elder brother of Charles; and endeavoured to secure him by the prevalent motives of interest to second the efforts of the English arms.

To these negotiations succeeded the operations of war. Charles, still desirous of employing his enemies in the provinces north of the Loire, contested

contested every castle with politic obstinacy. He had been lately reinforced by numbers of the Scots; and John Stuart, constable of Scotland, with the lord of Estissac, had formed the siege of Crevant, in Burgundy. The earls of Salisbury and Suffolk marched to its relief; the besiegers were routed, with the loss of above a thousand men; and the constable of Scotland, with the count of Ventadour, were taken prisoners. This victory was attended by the capture of Gaillon upon the Seine, and la Charité upon the Loire; and the passage of that river seemed opened to the English.

Charles was sensible that the war
A.D. 1424. could not long be protracted if the southern provinces were exposed to the ravages of his enemies; the late defeat had not broken his spirit, or induced him to relinquish a system, the propriety of which he was so well assured of. The duke of Bedford had been for three months engaged in the siege of Yvri in Normandy; and the governor finding his resources exhausted, had agreed to surrender the town, unless relieved by a certain day. The king of France hoped by a successful enterprise to restore the lustre of his arms, and to preserve Yvri. He collected with diligence, although with difficulty, an army of fourteen thousand men, of whom one half were Scots;

Scots; and entrusted it to the valour and experience of the earl of Buchan, constable of France, who had already distinguished himself by the defeat of the duke of Clarence. That general was accompanied by the earl of Douglas, the duke of Alençon, the mareschal de la Fayette, the count of Aumale, and the viscount of Narbonne. He arrived too late to succour Yvri, which had already opened her gates; but he immediately invested Verneuil, and possessed himself of it by the levity of its inhabitants. He had scarce time to secure his new conquests before he was informed of the approach of the duke of Bedford. A council of war was immediately assembled to determine what conduct they should pursue. In vain did the most experienced French officers urge the glory they had already attained, in an acquisition no less important than the place which they had been sent to relieve; in vain did they remonstrate on the imprudence of hazarding an army, the last resource of their king; the Scots rejected with contempt the indignity of retiring before the English; their opinions were espoused by the rash and presumptuous, and they resolved to wait the arrival of the duke of Bedford.

The armies which encountered each other near Verneuil were equally balanced in point of numbers. The earl of Buchan resolved to expect with

with patient firmness the charge of the enemy; but his measures were disconcerted by the impatience of the viscount of Narbonne: That nobleman, with the troops under his immediate command, rushed forward to attack his adversaries; and the constable, to support him, was compelled to abandon the advantageous ground which he had chosen. Yet even this error did not prevent the day from being obstinately disputed; the English archers were broken, and rallied again with difficulty; but the cavalry, animated by the presence and example of the duke of Bedford, charged with irresistible fury. After a bloody conflict, the French, pressed on all sides, began gradually to retreat; and that retreat was soon changed into a tumultuous flight. Four thousand of their bravest soldiers, with the earls of Buchan and Douglas, the counts Aumale, Ventadour, and Narbonne, perished in the field. The body of the latter, as one of the murderers of the duke of Burgundy, was broken on the wheel, and afterwards exposed on a gibbet. But the victors purchased their triumph at the expence of sixteen hundred men; a loss so unusual, that the duke of Bedford forbade all all rejoicings for his success.

Verneuil capitulated the next day; and the destruction of Charles appeared inevitable. The equal temper with which he supported a series of

of incessant misfortunes, established his fame; but from the danger which threatened to overwhelm him, he could only be saved by the defensions of his enemies. When hope was extinguished, when despair on every side encompassed him, he was suddenly preserved from ruin; and the imprudence of the English ravished from their grasp a conquest of which they deemed themselves secure.

Jaqueline, countess of Hainault and Holland, and heiress of those provinces, had espoused John, duke of Brabant, cousin-german to the duke of Burgundy: The marriage had been dictated by policy; but the masculine spirit and brilliant capacity of the princess despised her ill-sorted comfort, equally feeble in body and mind, and who had only attained his fifteenth year. Contempt was soon the parent of antipathy; and impatient of the dilatory measures and doubtful determination of the court of Rome, she escaped into England, and solicited the protection of the duke of Gloucester. The impetuous passions of that prince blinded him to the true interests of his country; the charms of the countess, the inheritance she was possessed of, presented themselves to his view. Without waiting for a dispensation from the pope, without endeavouring to conciliate the duke of Burgundy, he entered into a marriage contract with

with Jaqueline, and immediately attempted to render himself master of her dominions. The duke of Burgundy resented the injury offered to his kinsman, the duke of Brabant; he encouraged him to resist the usurpation, and allured to his standard the subjects of Jaqueline. At length he openly declared in his favour, and marched his troops to his support; while the quarrel, which at first was political, soon became personal, from some unguarded expressions in his correspondence with the duke of Gloucester.

That prince, to support his pretensions in Hainault and Holland, had intercepted the succours intended for the duke of Bedford, and for the prosecution of the war in France; and the same dissensions diverted the aid which the duke of Burgundy had engaged to furnish. In vain did the regent represent to his brother the danger of alienating that confederate, whose friendship was of the utmost importance, and whom the late king had enjoined them with his dying breath, to gratify by every mark of regard and attachment. Love and ambition occupied the soul of the duke of Gloucester; he still persisted in pressing the war in the Low Countries; and the duke of Bedford, instead of improving the victory of Verneuil, was obliged to cross the seas to England, that he might try, by his counsels and authority, to moderate the measures of his brother.

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The pope had already declared void the contract of that prince with Jaqueline; and also added, that in case of the duke of Brabant's death, she should not be at liberty to espouse the duke of Gloucester. Humphrey, despairing of success, married another lady of inferior rank, who had lived some time with him as his mistress. The duke of Brabant died; and his widow, before she could recover the possession of her dominions, was obliged to declare the duke of Burgundy her heir, in case she should die without issue, and to promise never to marry without his consent. But the advantage which the latter prince reaped from the accommodation of these differences, did not prevent him in future from regarding the English with jealousy; and the satisfaction which the regent enjoyed from reconciling one ally, was soon alloyed by the unexpected desertion of another.

The count of Richemont had ever shewn himself desirous of being placed at the head of an army; a trust which the duke of Bedford was by no means willing to repose in him. Although allied by marriage to that prince and the duke of Burgundy, these feeble bands were not capable of resisting the torrent of his military ambition. By the death of the earl of Buchan, the important post of constable of France was vacant; and Charles, informed

informed of the discontent of the earl of Richemont, offered him the sword, the object of his martial desires. The count closed with the proposal; and his influence over his brother, the duke of Brittany, induced that prince to renounce his engagements with England, and to espouse the cause of Charles the Seventh. But the king of France purchased this accession of strength by the most mortifying concessions; to gratify the duke of Brittany, he was obliged to dismiss his minister, Louvet, who had adhered to him through all the vicissitudes of fortune; and the count of Richemont insisted that Tannegui de Chastel, the faithful companion of Charles's misfortunes, should be banished from his court, as the murderer of his father-in-law, the late duke of Burgundy.

A. D. 1426. An English army of three thousand men, under the command of the earl of Warwick, during these political negotiations, had formed the siege of Montargis, and that place was reduced to the last extremity. Charles collected a body of sixteen hundred men, and entrusted them to a natural son of that duke of Orleans who had been assassinated by the duke of Burgundy. This general, who was afterwards so famous under the different descriptions of Bastard of Orleans and count of Dunois, displayed in this enterprise the dawn of his meridian fortune and glory.

He attacked the enemy's entrenchments with prudence, valour, and success; penetrated into Montargis, and compelled the English to abandon the siege with disgrace.

The advantages which Charles derived from having attached to his fortunes Arthur, count of Richemont, was in some measure balanced by the turbulent and ferocious temper of that haughty nobleman. The sword of the constable was as frequently unsheathed against the favourites, as against the enemies of the king. His ministers, the seigneur de Guyac, and the Camus de Beaulieu, with the mareschal de Bouffac, were the successive victims to Arthur's resentment. But while he insulted the dignity of the crown of Poitiers, he restored its authority in Normandy; and several important posts on the frontiers of that province were recovered from the English.

The duke of Bedford had beheld with indignation the levity or treachery with which the duke of Brittany had renounced his former engagements to enter into new ones with Charles. Immediately on his arrival in France, he secretly assembled a considerable army to chastise the desertion of that prince; he suddenly invaded the province, unprepared for resistance; he compelled the duke to renounce his late alliance with France; to subscribe to the treaty of Troyes;

A. D. 1427.

to acknowledge his title as regent; and to yield homage to Henry for his duchy. Successful in this enterprize, he entered on another equally important, and determined to invest the city of Orleans, which, situated between the provinces commanded by Henry and those possessed by Charles, opened an easy entrance to either. The army for this siege, which consisted of ten thousand men, he entrusted to the veteran abilities of the earl of Salisbury. The first motions of the English apprised Charles of their intentions; he reinforced the garrison, replenished the magazines, and appointed as governor the lord of Gaucour, a brave and experienced captain.

A. D. 1428, 1429. The forces of the earl of Salisbury were not sufficiently numerous to invest Orleans on every side; and he resolved to press his attacks against the southern quarter towards Sologne, and leave that towards the Beauce open to the enemy: But he himself was killed by a cannon ball, in a spirited and successful attempt on the fortifications. The command, on the death of the earl of Salisbury, devolved on the earl of Suffolk. The army was reinforced by large bodies of the French and Burgundians; and Orleans, under his directions, was completely invested. The inclemency of the season, and the rigour of winter, could not overcome the perseverance of the
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the besiegers; a chain of forts was arduously constructed; yet the vacant spaces still allowed succours to be introduced; the garrison, before the return of spring, was swelled by frequent supplies from twelve hundred to three thousand men; and their hopes were raised, and their efforts encouraged, by the presence and example of the Bastard of Orleans.

The French themselves, to distress the besiegers, had ravaged and exhausted the adjacent country; and the English were compelled to draw their subsistence from a considerable distance. A convoy of provisions was entrusted to the conduct of Sir John Falstoffs, with a select detachment of two thousand five hundred men. The king of France, determined to exert every nerve for the preservation of the city, collected a body of troops, in number about four thousand, and appointed the count of Clermont to command them. On the approach of the French, Falstoffs drew up his men behind the waggons, and calmly received the fury of their charge. The French were broken by their own impetuosity; five hundred perished on the field; and this action, from the provisions of which the convoy was composed, obtained the name of the Battle of *Herrings*.

Disappointed in his attempt to relieve Orleans by arms, the king of France now endeavoured to

preserve it by policy. The duke of Orleans, still a prisoner in England, had obtained from the duke of Glocester and his council the promise of a neutrality in his demesnes; and that they should be sequestered during the war into the hands of the duke of Burgundy; but this expedient was firmly rejected by the duke of Bedford; and to the importunities of the duke of Burgundy he coolly replied, that he was not of a humour to beat the bushes while others ran away with the game. That prince, disgusted with his refusal, separated his forces from those of the English; but the latter still pressed the siege with increase of ardour; and the jealousy of the former might have protracted, but could not have averted the fate of Orleans; when it was preserved by an occurrence so singular as almost to stagger belief, and which can only be received on the undoubted testimony of concurring and contemporary historians.

Charles, depressed and desponding, had already began to meditate a retreat into Dauphiné. From this intention he was diverted by the intreaties of his queen, Mary of Anjou, a princess of prudence and spirit; and by the more persuasive remonstrances of his beautiful mistress, the celebrated Agnes de Soreille. That lady, in a condition which generally enervates the mind, displayed a

soul noble and elevated; she declared her resolution, if Charles abandoned the throne of France, to seek in England a lover more worthy of her embraces; and Charles, sunk in indolence and inactivity, was roused by her powerful eloquence to the pursuit of ambition and glory.

While he anxiously and hourly expected the fatal intelligence that Orleans had surrendered, his attention was engaged by the appearance of a village girl, destined to prop his falling fortunes, and restore to him the dominions of his ancestors. In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, at a small inn, resided a female servant called Joan d'Arc; she had been accustomed to ride the horses of her master's guests to water; her employment and conversation with the company whom she attended had given her a degree of boldness above her sex; and she listened with pleasure to the martial achievements, the constant topics of conversation in a warlike age. The calamities of her country, and the distress of her sovereign, were the objects of her daily thoughts and nightly dreams. She was soon inflamed with the desire of avenging on the English the misery of France; and an ignorant mind might possibly mistake the impulse of her passions for heavenly inspirations. She procured admission to Baudrecourt, the governor of Vau-

couleurs; she declared to him that she had been exhorted by frequent visions and by distinct voices, to atchieve the deliverance of her country; and the governor either equally credulous himself, or sufficiently penetrating to foresee the effect such an enthusiast might have on the minds of the vulgar, granted her an escort to the French court, which at that time resided at Chinon, in Touraine.

On her arrival at Chinon, she is said to have distinguished Charles from his courtiers, though divested of every ensign of royalty; to have revealed a secret to him unknown to all the world beside himself; and to have demanded and described by particular marks, a sword which she had never seen, and which she required as the instrument of her future victories; she asserted that she was commissioned to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims, to be there crowned and anointed. Charles and his ministers *pretended* to examine her pretensions with scrupulous exactness: They *affected* at length to be convinced of the sincerity of her declarations, and of her supernatural powers; their opinion was solemnly and publicly countenanced by an assembly of doctors and theologians, and by the parliament of France, then residing at Poitiers. After repeated examinations, the mission of Joan d'Arc
was

was pronounced to be divine ; and the spirits of a despairing people were again elevated by the hope that heaven had declared itself in favour of France.

That Charles might avail himself of the enthusiasm of the moment, he sent Joan to Blois, where a convoy was already provided for the relief of Orleans, and an army of ten thousand men was collected to escort it. The holy maid, displaying in her hands a consecrated banner, marched at the head of her troops. She had already declared her intention of entering the city by the road from the side of Beauffe ; but the Bastard of Orleans, whom we shall hereafter style count of Dunois, unwilling entirely to trust the operations of war to the suggestions of fanaticism, controlled the rash design ; and persuaded Joan to approach the town on the opposite side of the Loire, where he knew the besiegers were weakest.

The English had at first heard with contempt the preparations of Charles, and derided the heavenly commission of Joan ; but the minds of the common soldiers were insensibly impressed with holy dread, and they awaited the event with anxious terror. The earl of Suffolk, apprised of the disposition of his troops, vainly flattered himself that time would dispel their fears, and banish the illusion. He determined to remain quietly

within his entrenchments, while the convoy entered the city with Joan, and the French army returned to Blois without interruption. But inaction served only to confirm those alarms which the tumult of war might have banished: The English beheld their enemies triumphant, and the predictions of Joan, who acquired the surname of the Maid of Orleans, in part fulfilled. A second convoy soon after entered the city, on the side of Beaufle, and was also suffered by the besiegers to pass without resistance. The French assumed new spirits; while the English, formerly elated with victory and impatient for action, beheld the enterprises of their enemies in silent astonishment and religious consternation.

But even this state of inactivity was no longer permitted to them; the enthusiasm of Joan could not be restrained within the walls of Orleans: She exhorted the garrison to listen to her voice, and imitate her example. In a successful sally, the entrenchments of the besiegers were stormed, and even the valour of the renowned Sir John Talbot seemed to wither at her approach. A second sally swept away the forts on the opposite side of the Loire; and a wound from an arrow, which in the attack was inflicted on the neck of Joan, served rather to inflame than damp the courage of the intrepid heroine. The count of Dunois consented to
seize

seize the moment of returning fortune; the English were successively chased from their posts, with the loss of above six thousand men; the earl of Suffolk determined to raise a siege which he could no longer continue with a probability of success; and the French, animated by this first essay of the holy maid, prepared to improve their advantage, and avail themselves of the superstitious terrors of their adversaries.

Chapter the Eighteenth,

VICTORIES OF THE FRENCH. — CORONATION OF CHARLES THE SEVENTH AT RHEIMS. — MAID OF ORLEANS TAKEN PRISONER; — IS CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED. — THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY RECONCILES HIMSELF TO THE KING OF FRANCE. — PARIS OPENS HER GATES TO CHARLES. — BATTLE OF CASTILLON. — THE ENGLISH ARE EXPELLED FRANCE. — DISCONTENT OF THE DAUPHIN. — RETIRES TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY. — DEATH OF CHARLES THE SEVENTH.

WITH the siege of Orleans expired
 A.D. 1429. the ascendancy of the English; and their conquests in France, attained at the expence of so much blood and treasure, were swept away by the returning tide of Charles's fortune. The earl of Suffolk, with part of his forces, had retired to Jergeau; he was there invested by the French, animated by the presence of Joan, and in ten days

the town was taken by assault, and Suffolk himself made prisoner. The constable Richemont pressed the remnant of the English, who endeavoured to retreat under the conduct of Falstoffe, Scales, and Talbot: They were overtaken at the village of Patay; oppressed by their fears, they scarce awaited the charge of their enemies; the example of flight was given by Falstoffe himself, who had so lately triumphed at the battle of Herrings; two thousand of his soldiers were slaughtered on the field; and among the captives of Richemont were Talbot and Scales.

The Maid of Orleans had fulfilled part of her promise by raising the siege of that city; but a more arduous enterprise remained to conduct the king to receive the crown at Rheims. The city itself lay distant from any place possessed by Charles; it was in the hands of the English; and the whole road which led to it was occupied by their garrisons. Yet Joan insisted on the execution of her mission; the king himself shook off his general indolence, and resolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike prophets; the nobility of France crowded to the standard of their youthful sovereign, who began his march at the head of twelve thousand men; he passed without interruption through an enemy's country; received in his progress the submission of Troyes; was
instantly

instantly admitted into Rheims; and in that city was solemnly inaugurated; the Maid of Orleans standing by his side in complete armour, and displaying, during the ceremony, her holy banner. The claim of Charles from his coronation at Rheims, received new lustre; and Laon, Soissons, Chateau-Thierry, Provins, and many other towns in the neighbourhood, disputed the honour of first acknowledging the authority of their lawful sovereign.

A. D. 1430. The prudence of Bedford had been constantly exerted to stem the torrent; nor was his character ever displayed to more advantage than amidst the storms of adversity. He reinforced the garrisons of the different towns, replenished their magazines, and over-awed the inclinations of the inhabitants ripe for revolt. The Parisians were retained in obedience by alternate caresses and menaces; and his arts soothed the angry passions of the duke of Burgundy, and deferred the fatal hour of his defection. The bishop of Winchester, his uncle, had landed in Calais with a body of five thousand men, which he was conducting into Bohemia, on a crusade against the Hussites. The duke of Bedford prevailed on him to prop the declining cause of Henry with these succours; at the head of them he opposed the king of France, advancing towards the gates of Paris.

Paris. But still doubtful of the confidence of his own troops, while he seemed to face the enemy he chose his posts with so much care and discernment, that Charles in vain endeavoured to compel him to a decisive action. Harassed by the vigilance of the regent, the army of France, which had been composed chiefly of volunteers, at length disbanded; Charles, after having possessed himself of Compiègne, Beauvais, Senlis, Sens, Laval, Lagni, and St. Denys, retired to Bourges; and Bedford invited Henry the Sixth to Paris; celebrated the ceremony of his coronation in that capital; and exacted an oath of allegiance from the vassals of the crown, who lived within the provinces which acknowledged the authority of the English.

Whatever lustre the coronation of the infant Henry might reflect on his cause, A.D. 1431. the regent expected to derive more solid advantage from an accident which placed within his power the author of his late disgraces and defeats. Joan d'Arc had declared, that with the inauguration of Charles at Rheims, her mission expired; and that it was her wish, after having fulfilled her promises, to retire to her former condition. The count of Dunois had exhorted her to persevere till the English were finally expelled. Overcome by his importunities, she had thrown herself into Compeigne,

peigne, which at that time was besieged by the duke of Burgundy, assisted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk. In a sally on the quarters of John of Luxembourg, she was deserted by her friends, surrounded by her enemies, and after a gallant resistance taken prisoner. She is supposed to have been betrayed by the base envy of the French, who repined at every success being ascribed to her influence; and the neglect of Charles, who made not the slightest effort to procure her release, proves that he no longer expected to derive any benefit from the instrument he had adopted.

The duke of Bedford purchased from John of Luxembourg his important captive, and commenced a prosecution against her, which whether undertaken from policy or revenge, stains with barbarity his accomplished character. As a prisoner of war, Joan was entitled to the courtesy of good usage, practised by civilized nations; and in her military capacity she never had been impeached of acting with treachery or cruelty. But her enemies were inexorable; and to disguise the source of their enmity, they prevailed on the bishop of Beauvais, a prelate loose in his principles, and wholly devoted to their interests, to prostitute the sacred name of religion to the persecution they meditated. The bishop pretended that Joan had been taken in his diocese, and desired

fired to have her tried by an ecclesiastical court for forcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic; the university of Paris disgraced itself by joining the request. But Joan for a long time defended herself with manly firmness; she acknowledged her intention to expel in the English the invaders of her country; and replied, that she submitted her inspirations, which her judges urged as magical, to God, the fountain of truth. But she was already prejudged; her revelations were declared to be the inventions of the devil to delude the people; and she was sentenced to be delivered over to the secular arm. It is with indignation the reader must peruse her fate; after relieving her country from the oppressive yoke of its enemies; after restoring her prince to his native throne, and his subjects to their freedom, the Maid of Orleans was condemned to be burned in the market-place of Rouen: The inhuman sentence was soon after executed, and the unhappy victim was delivered alive to the flames.

But the inhumanity of the English contributed not to advance their interests: The illusion which had so long oppressed them with terror was indeed dispelled, but the tide of fortune still continued to flow rapidly against them; the French triumphed in repeated and successive encounters, which though of small
consequence

consequence in themselves, served to confirm their confidence, and proclaim an approaching revolution. This event was accelerated by a rupture between the dukes of Burgundy and Bedford. The bands of friendship had been loosened by the death of the duchess of the latter; and the former complained, that the memory of his sister was insulted by the hasty marriage of the regent with Jaqueline of Luxembourg. All advances toward a reconciliation were disdained by two princes equally tenacious of their dignity; and Charles availed himself of the discontent of the duke of Burgundy to negotiate the celebrated treaty, since known by the name of the treaty of Arras.

The English were invited to join the
A. D. 1435. Congress at St. Vaast, and the cardinal of Winchester appeared as the ambassador of Henry; but the pretensions of the court of London admitted not yet of accommodation; and the cardinal of Winchester scarce deigned to answer the offer of Guienne and Normandy, loaded with the usual stipulation of homage to the crown of France. The claims of the duke of Burgundy were listened to with greater condescension; the conditions were dictated by the commanding situation of Philip, and subscribed by the necessities of Charles. Besides making repeated atonements
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and acknowledgments for the murder of the duke's father, the king of France ceded to him all the towns of Picardy which lay between the Somme and the low countries; he agreed that these, and all the other dominions of Philip, should be held by him during his life, without doing any homage, or swearing fealty to the present king; and he freed his subjects from all obligations to allegiance, if ever he infringed this treaty. But still more to flatter the passions of Philip, Charles submitted to the mortification of dismissing his faithful servant Tannegui de Chastel from his court and presence.

By these concessions, a formidable enemy was converted into an important ally. The English had insulted an herald whom the duke of Burgundy had sent to that court to notify the treaty of Arras; and Philip, impatient to signalize his services in the cause of France, affected to resent the indignity, assembled his forces, and prepared to attack the English, whom he now regarded as dangerous and implacable enemies. A few days after the treaty of Arras, the duke of Bedford expired; a prince whose virtuous memory is only blemished by the execution of the maid of Orleans: A little before him, Isabella, queen dowager of France, breathed her last, universally detested and despised.

The court of London, after the death of

Bedford, was divided by the factions of the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester: Their dissensions prevented them from embracing any salutary measure; and a considerable space intervened before the duke of York was appointed to succeed the late regent.

A. D. 1436, 1438. Paris, always attached to the House of Burgundy, followed the example of that duke; opened her gates to the count of Richemont; and proclaimed Charles the Seventh. The English governor still defended himself in the Bastile, and at length obtained a capitulation which permitted him to retire to Rouen. This acquisition restored the constable to the favour of his sovereign, which he had forfeited by violently seizing the minister le Tremouille. On the recovery of his capital, the king of France negotiated a marriage for his son the dauphin with Margaret, daughter to James the Second, king of Scotland; but the nuptial rejoicings were interrupted by the intelligence that the duke of Gloucester had compelled the duke of Burgundy to raise the siege of Calais; and had avenged the insult by extending his devastations over the province of Artois. The duke of York landed also in Normandy with a considerable reinforcement; while the discontents in Holland and Hainault demanded the attention of Philip, and recalled him from the effectual support of his new allies.

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The inclemency of winter did not prevent the contending parties from continuing the operations of war; Pontoise, on the side of the English, was surprised by lord Talbot, who was afterwards created earl of Shrewsbury; Montreau on the Seine was invested by Charles, accompanied by the constable: That town was taken after an obstinate defence; and the king of France in the assault displayed a valour becoming his royal birth and dignity. He had before resisted the solicitations of his parliament to return to Paris, determined first to efface by some martial atchievement the unfavourable impressions which his indolence had occasioned. He now entered his capital amidst the merited acclamations of his people; yet after an absence of nineteen years, he was again compelled to abandon it; famine and pestilence united severely to humble the exultation of the inhabitants: War had extinguished the seeds of industry and the appearance of affluence; and the streets, destitute of citizens, afforded a secure refuge to the hungry wolves, which, fearless and rapacious, passed over the frozen Seine.

At Bourges, on the other side of the Loire, Charles received ambassadors A.D. 1439.
from the council of Basil, which had quarrelled with pope Eugenius the Fifth; and in an assembly composed of the princes of the blood and the
I i 2 digni-

dignified clergy, he caused the regulations of that council to be examined. These he compiled into a law, to which he gave the name of the Pragmatic Sanction; and which ever since has been considered as the bulwark of the Gallican church; as it deprived the see of Rome from nominating to ecclesiastical dignities, and from granting reversions, pensions, and exemptions, within the monarchy of France.

A. D. 1440. A fruitless negociation for peace had been proposed under the auspices of the duchess of Burgundy; and the constable, in an attempt on Avranches, was surprised and defeated by lord Talbot. The king, to efface this disgrace, commanded his army to be kept in a state of continual preparation: But the nobles of France were impatient of discipline, and they already began to cabal against a sovereign who seemed determined to maintain his authority. The dukes of Alençon and Bourbon, and the count of Dunois, with the late minister le Tremouille, all jealous of the influence of the constable, entered into the confederacy; the dauphin, then scarce eighteen, was induced to strengthen it by his name: But the conspirators, by the advice of the count of Richemont, who prevailed on the king to march in person at the head of a small body of forces, were surprised in the city of Blois; The count of Dunois had already deserted to the
standard

standard of his royal master; the dukes of Bourbon and Alençon submitted; and the dauphin reluctantly returned to the duty he owed to his father and his king. Yet the satisfaction of Charles was seldom long without alloy; after a dreary captivity of twenty-five years, the duke of Orleans was restored to liberty, on the payment of a ransom of three hundred thousand crowns; the greatest part of which was supplied by the liberality of the duke of Burgundy, desirous of extinguishing by this act of generosity the unhappy dissensions which had prevailed between the two families. But the king of France regarded the reconciliation of these nobles with an eye of jealousy; and the duke of Orleans, dissatisfied with his coldness, retired in disgust to his own estates.

The same spirit which the king had shewn in the attack of Montreau, he ^{A. D. 1441.} displayed with equal success in the assault of Pontoise: He mounted the breach in person, and entered the town at the head of his troops. But from the reduction of Poitou he was recalled by a new confederacy, formed by the dukes of Orleans, Burgundy, and Brittany, Alençon, and Bourbon. The king listened to their grievances with temper and moderation; he conciliated the duke of Orleans by the present of a considerable sum towards the payment of his ransom; and the discontent of

that prince once assuaged, the conspiracy dissolved in its own weakness.

A. D. 1442. Harfleur, during these transactions, was invested and vigorously pressed by the English. To the relief of it Charles detached the dauphin, with a powerful army. The young prince broke through the lines of the besiegers, and compelled them to abandon the enterprise. Entrusted with the government of Gascony, he repressed by his vigilance and decision the turbulent practices of the count of Armagnac, whose ambition had induced him to enter into an alliance with Henry the Sixth; but the measures of the dauphin were so judiciously planned, and executed with so much alacrity, that the count was induced to abandon his new connexions, and to humble himself before his offended sovereign.

A. D. 1443. The disorders which on every side distracted the French government, and which time alone could remedy, continually inclined the wishes of Charles to peace; and Henry the Sixth of England, a monarch feeble, meek, and superstitious, concealed not his desire to extinguish the destructive flames of war. Yet the pretensions of the rival nations admitted not of lasting tranquillity; a suspension of arms for twenty-two months was the temporising expedient adopted; and this term, which left both parties in

in possession of what they then occupied, was afterwards prolonged by mutual agreement. The earl of Suffolk, who acted as the ambassador of Henry, concluded at the same time the marriage of his sovereign with Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Reignier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem; a princess of masculine spirit and enterprising temper; and whose alliance was the source of destruction to Suffolk, and of infinite calamities to his country.

The interval from war Charles had A. D.
 assiduously employed in restoring the 1444, 1448.
 splendour of his capital, and the agriculture of the provinces: He laboured to recall the advantages of commerce, and to establish the administration of justice; he introduced order into the finances, and discipline among his troops; he repressed the factions of his court, and revived the languid spirit of industry. He prudently passed in silence the levity of the Genoese, who had demanded his assistance, and afterwards refused to admit his troops; and he declined supporting the pretensions of the duke of Orleans to Milan, who, if seconded by the power of France, might probably have possessed himself of that duchy. But he interfered with vigour on another occasion: On the marriage of Henry of England to Margaret, the province of Maine had

been promised to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle. The court of London had studiously delayed the restoration of that county; but Charles instantly ordered the count of Dunois, at the head of an army well disciplined and well provided, to enter the province, and expel the English. Mans, after a gallant resistance, was compelled to capitulate; and, with its dependencies, was for ever alienated from the crown of England.

A. D. 1449. Surienne, the governor of Mans, with the troops under his command, amounting to two thousand five hundred men, had retired towards Normandy; but the duke of Somerset, to whom the provinces of France, still occupied by the English, were entrusted, either from want of capacity or inclination to subsist this additional army, refused to admit him. That military adventurer immediately directed his march towards Brittany, and seized the town of Fourgeres. The duke of Brittany, unable to resist him, complained to the king of France, his liege lord: Charles informed of the distracted councils of England, acquainted with the weak disposition of Henry, and sensible that the political health of his country was in a great measure restored by the late respite from war, determined to seize the favourable opportunity to invade Normandy. He demanded satisfaction for the damages the duke of
Brittany

Brittany had sustained from the ravages of Su-rienne ; and to ensure a refusal, he estimated those damages at one million six hundred thousand crowns. The incapacity of Henry to comply with this exorbitant demand was the signal for war ; and four formidable armies entered Normandy at once ; The first was commanded by the king of France himself ; the second, by the duke of Brittany ; a third, by the duke of Alençon ; and a fourth, by the count of Dunois.

The inhabitants of Normandy re-
ceived the invaders with friendly alacrity ; A. D.
1449, 1450.
the towns scarce waited a summons to open their gates ; Verneuil, Nogent, Chateau-Gaillard, Gisors, Mante, Vernon, Argentan, Coutances, &c. hailed with acclamations their lawful sovereign ; and Charles with an army of fifteen thousand men, invested the duke of Somerset in Rouen. The tumultuous clamours of the citizens demanded a capitulation. Somerset, overwhelmed by secret and open enemies, retired with his forces into the castle and palace, resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. But his valour was rendered ineffectual by the prudence of the king of France ; who contented himself with surrounding him on every side, and awaiting the effect of famine. The pressure of want soon compelled the English to capitulate : A retreat to Harfleur was purchased
by

by the payment of fifty-six thousand crowns, and by an engagement to surrender Arques, Caudebec, Honfleur, and other places in Normandy. The earl of Shrewsbury, a general whose fortune and conduct the French most feared, was delivered as a hostage for the faithful performance of these conditions; and as the governor of Harfleur rejected the terms, was detained by the French, who, under the command of the count of Dunois, invested and possessed themselves of Harfleur. In the next campaign four thousand English were landed at Cherbourg, under the conduct of Sir Thomas Kyriel; these were routed by the count of Clermont at Fourmigny. The duke of Somerset was again reduced to capitulate in Caen; Falaise opened his gates, on condition that the earl of Shrewsbury should be restored to liberty; and the surrender of Cherbourg, the last place which remained to the English, completed the final conquest of Normandy.

A. D. The progress of the count of Dunois
1451, 1453. in Guienne was almost equally rapid. To preserve that province, the earl of Shrewsbury had landed with five thousand men; but he was compelled against his better judgment, by the impatient clamours of the citizens of Bourdeaux, to hazard the battle of Castillon. Oppressed by superior numbers, he disdained to survive a defeat
so

so fatal to the hopes of his country, and fell with his youthful son, respected and lamented by the victors. Bourdeaux, dismayed at his fate, engaged to open her gates, if not relieved within a certain time. But all concern for France was now swallowed up by the commotions which afflicted England, and shook the throne of Henry: No succour was sent; and Bourdeaux acknowledged the authority of Charles the Seventh. Bayonne followed the example; and the province of Guienne, after a period of three centuries, was ultimately re-united to the crown of France.

But while the epithet of *victorious* was attached to the name of Charles, A.D. 1450. while the fortune of the monarch was envied and admired, his feelings as a father were most deeply and mortally wounded. The intrigues of the dauphin had already impeded his career of conquest; his resentment had assailed the ministers of his cabinet, and proved more fatal to Agnes Sorreille, the beloved mistress of the king. His enmity to that amiable female, whose influence was incessantly exerted to excite her royal lover to deeds of glory and martial achievements, was public and undisguised; and the suspicious circumstances which accompany the death of Agnes, afford but too much reason to believe that poison was

was administered to her by the express command of Lewis. In opposition to his father's positive injunctions, that prince had espoused as his second wife, Charlotte, daughter to the duke of Savoy; and Charles resented the contempt by a declaration of war against Savoy, which he was persuaded to recall, that he might prosecute the reduction of Guienne.

A. D. 1453, 1456. The former extensive possessions of the English in France were now confined to the walls of Calais; and Charles, weary of the disobedience of his son, and irritated at the exactions which he practised in the county of Dauphiné, commissioned Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, to seize his person. Lewis, informed of the design, and hopeless of protection from his father in law, the duke of Savoy, precipitately withdrew into Franche Comtè, and afterwards continued his route into Brabant. The duke of Burgundy was no sooner apprized of his arrival, then he sent his son, the count of Charolois, to wait on him; supplied his necessities with a liberal hand; and gave orders that he should be treated with every mark of respect. But Philip, who from the mild tenor of his latter conduct, had attained the enviable appellation of *Good*, refused to see him till he had obtained

obtained the approbation of his father. Lewis having in vain endeavoured to prevail on that prince to supply him with an army to disturb the government of Charles, retired to the castle of Guaneppe, near Bruffels, which the duke of Burgundy had allotted for his residence, and where he assigned him the princely pension of twelve thousand crowns; while Lewis, ever restless and malevolent, employed his leisure hours in sowing the seeds of discontent between his benefactor and his son, the count of Charolois.

Arthur, count of Richemont and
constable of France had by the death A. D. 1457.
of his nephew acquired the duchy of Brittany; but the satisfaction which the king might derive from the advancement of that prince, who when his capricious passions intervened not had faithfully adhered to him, was imbittered by the treasonable intrigues of the duke of Alençon. That haughty chief, disgusted at the coldness with which the king regarded his pretensions to Fourgers, a town occupied by the duke of Brittany, entered into a negociation with England. His wild designs, which threatened the tranquillity of Normandy were detected; and Charles in anguish, exclaimed, "In whom can I now put my trust, when the very princes of my own blood conspire against me?" The duke was immediately
arrested

arrested, tried, and condemned by a sentence of the parliament : At the request of the duke of Brittany, his punishment of death was commuted to perpetual imprisonment ; and the castle of Loches was assigned as the seat of his captivity.

A D. 1458, 1460. The dauphin and the duke of Burgundy were both suspected of having countenanced the designs of the duke of Alençon ; but the domestic peace of Philip was soon wounded by the arts of Lewis, and the ambition of his own son, the count of Charolois. The king of France was actuated by compassion to espouse the party of Henry the Sixth, despoiled of the crown of England by the triumphant House of York ; the count of Charolois offered to command the forces intended for this enterprize ; But under this pretence, he endeavoured to conceal his design of arming against the authority of his father. His intention was penetrated by Charles ; and the expression of that monarch marks an honest detestation of the crime, and establishes the moderation of his own character ; “ For two such kingdoms as my own, I would not have the least participation in so unworthy an action.” But he beheld with distrust the residence of the dauphin in the dominions of the duke of Burgundy ; and it is not improbable that he entertained an inclination to deprive his ungrateful son
of

of the succession, when a life of sixty, and a reign of thirth-nine, years were extinguished by a death equally singular and lamentable.

The dauphin's vindictive spirit and unnatural disposition had inspired A. D. 1461. Charles with continual suspicions. Repeated informations pointed out the domestics of the king as the associates of that prince, against the life of his father. The wretched monarch, jealous of all, and ignorant whose attachment to rely on, obstinately refused to take any nourishment during some days; and when the importunity of his attendants prevailed over his terrors, his stomach would no longer receive the food they proffered, and he perished for want of sustenance. His character has already been described as mild, generous, and courteous; frequently sunk in indolence and effeminacy, but sometimes rising into those exertions of virtue which distinguish the hero and the prince. His life had been chequered by every vicissitude of fortune; and when he had triumphed over the hereditary enemies of his throne, he at last expired the victim of domestic dissension. His remains, neglected by his son, were interred at the expence of his faithful Follower Tannegui de Chastel.

Chapter the Nineteenth.

ACCESSION OF LEWIS THE ELEVENTH.—LEAGUE FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD.—BATTLE OF MONT-LEHERI.—TREATIES OF CONFLANS AND SAINT MAUR.—INTERVIEW OF LEWIS AT PERONNE WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—IMPRISONMENT OF THE KING OF FRANCE.—REVOLUTIONS IN ENGLAND.—EDWARD THE FOURTH INVADES FRANCE.—TREATY OF PECQUIGNY.

A.D. 1461. **L**EWIS the Eleventh received the intelligence of his father's death with a joy which he affected not to conceal: The competition of his younger brother, the duke of Berri, vanished at his appearance: his coronation was celebrated with magnificence at Rheims, and graced by the presence of the duke of Burgundy and the count of Charolois. The first emotions of the king's gratitude for the protection he had met with, was displayed in his declaring the count his lieutenant-general in Normandy, with a salary of

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twelve

twelve thousand crowns; but these marks of esteem and confidence were transient and deceitful, and were soon succeeded by an enmity between those rival princes, which only expired with life.

From his youth addicted to intrigue, and delighting to tread the crooked paths of policy in preference to the open road which lay before him, Lewis, while he loaded the count of Charolois with caresses, ratified the treaty which his father had made with the people of Liege; though he well knew it had been suggested to Charles by resentment at the reception which the duke of Burgundy had afforded him; and although he had engaged to that prince not only to annul the treaty, but to join his arms against the Liegeois. With a greater degree of consistency, with an avowed contempt for the measures of his father, the ministers of the late monarch were ignominiously dismissed; the count of Dammartin was committed to the Bastile; and the duke of Alençon, who had been imprisoned for his treasonable practices against Charles the Seventh, was immediately released: Yet the new monarch punished an insurrection of the citizens of Rheims, against his own authority, with the most exemplary severity.

Some troops which Lewis had granted to the distress of Margaret of Anjou,

A. D.

1462, 1465.

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confort

consort of Henry the Sixth of England, and for which he had stipulated the restoration of Calais if that princess proved successful, were defeated; and Breze, seneschal of Normandy, who commanded them, escaped with difficulty. But the succours which he sent to the assistance of John, king of Arragon, whose subjects had shaken off their allegiance to a prince stained with the blood of his own son, were accompanied by that fortune which the guilty cause they had espoused but ill deserved. With his forces, Lewis had lent to that monarch the sum of three hundred thousand crowns; and the important counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, subject to redemption, were transferred to him as the security for the money he had advanced.

The kingdom of Naples, which formerly belonged to the house of Anjou, had been usurped by that of Arragon, and was now possessed by Ferdinand, a natural son of Alphonso, the late king. The duke of Calabria, the son of Reignier, the titular monarch of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, found the inclinations of the Neapolitans favourable to his pretensions. In the fruitless hope of restoring his kinsman, and to incline the pope to the enterprise, Lewis revoked the Pragmatic Sanction, which had been established by his father. But Pius the Second, whose nephew was married to the daughter of Ferdinand, still refused to sanction the claims

claim of the duke of Calabria; and the king of France, to escape the charge of levity, and yet to avoid being duped by the arts of the pontiff, suffered his parliament to carry into execution the Pragmatic Sanction, which he had solemnly cancelled.

Some differences between the crowns of France and Castile were productive of an interview between the two monarchs, Lewis, and Henry the Fourth, surnamed the Impotent. They met at Mauleon, on the confines of the kingdom of Navarre; and their different dispositions were evinced by their contrasted appearance. Henry, vain, magnificent, and haughty, was attended by a splendid train; Lewis, mean in his person, clad in coarse cloth short and unbecoming, a leaden image of the Virgin in his bonnet, was slenderly accompanied; but the wealth the former had expended in his sumptuous preparations, the latter employed to bribe the ministers of Castile and Arragon; and the two kings, after a fruitless conference, returned with a thorough contempt of the sordidness of the one and the incapacity of the other.

With better success Lewis entered into a negotiation with the duke of Burgundy, to procure the restitution of those towns on the river Somme which had been ceded by Charles the Seventh, at

the treaty of Arras; and which, in effect, made Philip master of Picardy. The measure was opposed by the count of Charolois; but the king of France had corrupted John de Croy, the minister of the duke: His influence prevailed; and four hundred thousand crowns were given to recover these valuable pledges; yet with them he insured the lasting enmity of the count, who ever afterwards regarded Lewis with jealousy and hatred. Even in this transaction, the duplicity of that monarch was studiously displayed: He had agreed to retain the officers appointed by the duke as governors of these towns; but no sooner was he in possession than he displaced them, and at the same time nominated others, whom he knew would be equally acceptable to Philip.

A prince who professes to deceive must be universally suspected; and when to these crooked arts was united a presumption founded on the facility with which he had hitherto accomplished his projects, his danger must be proportioned to the power of those whom he has over-reached and oppressed. Arthur, the late duke of Brittany, and constable of France, was succeeded in that duchy by Francis, a weak but generous prince, whose imbecility was supplied by the abilities of his ministers. Lewis, who held him in contempt, had insulted him by mandates of the most despoti-

spotic and imperious nature; he forbad him to levy any taxes in his dominions; to coin money; or to term himself "Duke by the grace of God." And Francis, unable singly to oppose the arrogance of Lewis, by the advice of his council, affected to submit, while he privately negociated a confederacy which threatened to subvert the throne of his oppressor.

The nobles of France had been equally bruised by the iron sway of their sovereign; the duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, respected for his years and virtues, had presumed to remonstrate against his arbitrary measures; the injurious reproaches of Lewis affected a mind too sensible of dishonour; and two days after, the duke of Orleans sunk into the grave beneath the pressure of unmerited insult. His death affected not the relentless heart of his royal kinsman; whose resentment was perpetuated by abandoning the pretensions of the house of Orleans to the duchy of Milan, and entering into an alliance with Francisco Sforza, who had usurped those dominions.

The count of Charolois openly complained that the perfidy of the king of France had been directed to seize his own person, and that of his father, the duke of Burgundy. To these princes the duke of Brittany closely united himself; the confederacy

was swelled by the accession of the dukes of Bourbon and Nemours, the counts of Dunois and St. Pol, and the count of Dammartin, who had escaped from his imprisonment. The secret, which was imparted to near five hundred persons, was preserved inviolably; and the duke of Berri, the king's brother, soon joined the conspirators; who, to describe their views, assumed the lofty distinction of the *League for the public Good*.

The duke of Brittany, to fortify his hopes, had entered into an alliance with Edward the Fourth, who at that time occupied the throne of England; and the king of France, secure and unsuspecting of the storm which was gathering, resolved to press the submission of his vassal by the most vigorous measures. Under the pretence of a pilgrimage, he advanced to Poitou, a situation convenient for his projected invasion of Brittany; but from this design he was recalled to provide for his own defence; the flight of the duke of Berri was the signal for open hostilities; and while the duke of Brittany entered France on one side, the count of Charolois on the other passed the Somme, and rapidly advanced towards Paris.

Amidst this alarming concurrence of circumstances, the genius of Lewis, active, penetrating, and peculiarly calculated to extricate him from difficulties, eminently appeared: To prevent the
junction

junction of the Bretons and Burgundians, he diligently pointed his march towards the capital, which was already insulted by the hostile arms of the count of Charolois. On the intelligence of the king's approach, that prince advanced to Montleheri, about eight leagues beyond that city. But while he anxiously awaited there the arrival of his confederates, the presence of the royal army compelled him to hazard an action, singly and unsupported. The suspicions of Lewis, always lively, and now particularly aroused by the consciousness of his own perfidious arts, and by the numbers who daily deserted him, were extended to Breze, seneschal of Normandy, to whom he had entrusted the conduct of his army. He eagerly demanded of that leader, whether he had not subscribed the league of his enemies? "They have indeed," answered Breze, "my handwriting; but my body is your majesty's." To efface the doubts of Lewis, the seneschal determined immediately to engage: With the van-guard he drew so near the count of Charolois, that a battle was inevitable; and the king, unable to retire without disgrace, was reluctantly induced to give the signal of attack.

The battle of Montleheri was obstinately disputed for above five hours; the field presented a scene of confused carnage, without either skill or

order ; the count of Charolois here first displayed that impetuous courage which ever after characterized him through life ; and the king, cool and intrepid amidst the dangers which surrounded him, extorted even from his adversaries the acknowledgment of personal valour. Yet the efforts of the leaders were but ill seconded by their troops ; and struck with a sudden panic, the greatest part of both armies deserted the conflict. On the side of Lewis perished Breze himself, and about fifteen hundred men ; the loss of the count of Charolois was nearly equal : But that prince, though wounded in the throat, still kept the field, and claimed the victory ; while Lewis, anxious to preserve the metropolis, and distrustful of the attachment of its citizens, hastily decamped, and entered Paris.

The attention of the king of France was immediately directed to secure the affections of the inhabitants of his capital. He endeavoured to insinuate himself into their bosoms by that pliability of address of which he was so eminently master ; he adopted manners the most engaging and popular ; he courted the wives and daughters of the mechanics ; he promised a repeal of every burdensome or extraordinary impost ; and he extended several acts of grace to retain them in their allegiance. In the mean time the duke of Brittany had joined the count of Charolois ; and the confederates, swelled to an host of one hundred

dred thousand men, among whom were five hundred Swifs, the first ever seen in France, swept the open country, and encamped in the villages adjacent to Paris. But they in vain attempted to gain possession of that city by blockade, by famine, and by intrigue; constant supplies were introduced by the rivers the Maine, the Yonne, and the Seine; and the hopes of insurrection were baffled by the prudence and vigilance of Lewis. Terms of accommodation succeeded a fruitless siege; a conference was proposed and agreed upon between the king of France and the count of Charolois; and in a treaty that prince obtained for himself and his next heir the towns upon the Somme, which had already been ransomed; and the districts of Boulogne, Guifnes, Peronne, Mondidier, and Roye, as a perpetual inheritance. In a separate and subsequent treaty, the rest of the confederates were gratified in their demands; Charles, the brother of the king, received the duchy of Normandy, which Lewis more readily granted, as he was already apprised of the revolt of Rouen. To the duke of Bourbon was allotted Donchery, several lordships in Auvergne, and a hundred thousand crowns. The duke of Brittany acquired Montfort and Estampes; the count of Dunois occupied his former military posts; the count of St. Pol was invested with the sword
of

of Constable; and Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, was restored to his estate, and soon became an acknowledged favourite of his sovereign. The league thus broken, each member of it returned to his respective dominions or castle; while the king, the moment he had signed, protested against the treaty, in the presence of several confidential members of the parliament of Paris, as contrary to the interests of the crown; and held himself in readiness to improve each favourable occasion, and singly to crush those opponents, to whose united force he had reluctantly submitted.

A. D. 1466. The count of Charolois had consented to an accommodation with Lewis, that he might exert his entire strength against the rebellious inhabitants of Liege; Edward the Fourth of England was scarce confirmed on his throne, which he had ascended by the expulsion of the House of Lancaster; the king of France therefore seized the ready opportunity to shake off the fetters which the late treaties had imposed. He gained the duke of Bourbon, the most able and moderate of the confederates, by a specious acknowledgment that his desert had not hitherto been properly considered, and by bestowing on him the hand of Jane, his natural daughter, with the dowry of Usson in Auvergne,

Auvergne, and Moras, Beaurepaire, and Cornillon, in Dauphiné; while the discontents between the dukes of Brittany and Normandy enabled him to secure the neutrality of the former, and to recover what he had unwillingly ceded to the latter.

Charles, duke of Normandy, timid in his disposition and feeble in his mind, had abandoned himself to counsellors equally weak and sordid. These soon embroiled him with his royal brother; and Lewis, vigorous and rapid in his movements, entered the province he had so lately yielded, and made himself master of Vernon, Gisors, Gournay, and Louviers. Rouen soon opened her gates and implored his mercy; and Charles, destitute of resources and allies, deprived of both his titles of Normandy and Berri, was forced to seek a doubtful shelter from the storm in the court of the duke of Brittany, and even to sell his plate to procure a wretched subsistence.

To attach to his interests the House of Anjou, the king of France presented to the duke of Calabria the sum of twenty-four thousand livres; but at the same time he severely punished the count of Maine, whom he discovered to have held a secret correspondence with the confederates. The effects of hope and fear, which so entirely influence the human mind, were successfully excited by the policy of Lewis; who
liberally

liberally rewarded his adherents, and chastised with exemplary rigour his adversaries. Yet when prudence dictated, he could disguise his resentments, nor suffered passion to interfere with his interest. Lewis of Luxembourg, count of St. Pol, had distinguished himself at the battle of Montleheri as an active and enterprising general, and as a zealous partizan of the league; he had afterwards extorted from the king the sword of constable; but Lewis, sensible of his abilities and splendid connexions, determined if possible to detach him from the House of Burgundy, and to secure his future fidelity by a marriage with Mary of Savoy, the sister of his queen.

A.D. 1467. The death of Philip, duke of Burgundy, whose justice, beneficence, and paternal attention to his people had acquired him the surname of *Good*, devolved his spacious dominions on his son Charles, count of Charolois: That prince, of fiery and impetuous manners, bold in action, patient of fatigue, and daring in his designs, had already humbled the rebellious people of Liege; he had reluctantly suffered the brother of the king to be dispossessed of the duchy of Normandy; and had beheld, with a lively jealousy of the growing power of France, the tardy and ineffectual efforts of the duke of Brittany to restore him. With Francis he had entered into a secret treaty;

treaty; but the Bretons were already driven from the posts they had occupied in Normandy before the duke of Burgundy passed the Somme; and the king, dreading the confederacy of those powerful neighbours, concluded an instant peace with the duke of Brittany; consented to allow his brother, the duke of Normandy, but who was now simply stiled Monsieur, an income sufficient to maintain the dignity of his birth; and desirous of availing himself of his superior address in negotiation, he determined on a personal interview with the duke of Burgundy.

Peronne, a town of Picardy, and in the possession of the duke of Burgundy, A.D. 1468, was appointed as the place of conference; and Lewis, attended by a slender train, and accompanied only by cardinal Balue, the duke of Bourbon, and the constable the count de St. Pol, entered the hostile walls. Intent on deceiving his rival, and improvident of his own security, he committed himself to the faith of a prince whom he had invariably endeavoured to delude; even common prudence seems for a moment to have deserted a bosom lately occupied by suspicion, and a mind which teemed with every wily stratagem. The duke of Burgundy received the king with every mark of distinction, and lodged him in the town of Peronne; but the concourse of

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Burgundian

Burgundian lords and other persons of rank, the avowed enemies of Lewis, who daily arrived, awaked too late the apprehensions of that monarch; his fears plunged him into an error still more dangerous than that which his presumption had suggested; for his immediate security, he requested he might have apartments assigned him in the castle; and thus voluntarily delivered himself a prisoner at the discretion of Charles.

Previous to the interview, the king, whose grand object was to keep the duke of Burgundy constantly employed in domestic wars, had sent agents privately to Liege, to induce the inhabitants to resume their arms by a promise of protection: Whether, intent on higher designs, his memory betrayed him, or that he did not expect the consequences of his intrigues would be instantaneous, the danger that might result from these practices appears not to have been the object of a moment's consideration. Inflamed by his arts, a considerable number of the Liegeois assembled privately at Tongres, where the bishop of Liege and the lord D'Himbercourt, a Burgundian officer of high estimation, were quartered with two thousand men; the conspirators suddenly surprised the town, captured the bishop and the governor, massacred part of their train, and after satiating themselves

selves with slaughter, retired with their prisoners to Liege.

The intelligence was quickly conveyed to the duke of Burgundy; and it was added, that the ambassadors of the king of France had appeared in person, animating the insurgents. The passions of Charles, always impetuous, were on this occasion heightened to fury. In a transport of rage, he reproached Lewis with his breach of faith, commanded the gates of the castle to be shut and strictly guarded, and denounced vengeance against the perfidious monarch who had deceived him. While Charles concerted what measures to pursue with the ministers he most confided in, the cause of his violence reached the ears of the king of France. Lewis, naturally timid and irresolute, in the hands of his mortal enemy whom he had deeply offended, surrounded with people who detested him, and shut up in the very fort where Herbert, count of Vermandois, had confined Charles the Simple, underwent by anticipation all the horrors of death. Yet in this dangerous crisis his art never forsook him; he distributed large sums of money among those officers whose opinions were most likely to influence the duke of Burgundy; and endeavoured by splendid presents and promises to allay the resentment of his enemies,

mies, and to confirm the attachment of his friends. Three days he passed in a state of painful suspense, while Charles, without deigning to visit him, maintained an indignant silence. At length the rage of that prince gradually subsided; and on the fourth morning he proposed to the king the conditions which he had fixed as the price of his freedom.

These differed but little from those which composed the former treaty; but the friendship of the duke stipulated for Charles, the brother of the king, the counties of Champagne and Brie, in lieu of the duchy of Normandy, of which he had been despoiled; and his resentment insisted on the presence of Lewis, while he avenged the late massacre at Tongres, and chastised the revolt of the inhabitants of Liege. The two princes immediately formed the siege of that city; the walls had been partly destroyed in the assault of the preceding year; but the breaches, which had been neglected by the confidence, were defended by the despair of the citizens, enamoured of freedom, and hopeless of pardon. The marshal of Burgundy, who had pressed forward as to a certain victory, was admonished to respect the steady valour of the inhabitants, who crowded through their gates to encounter him. In a more daring sally, the Liegeois penetrated to the very quarters of the king of
France

France and the duke of Burgundy: For a moment, the destruction of Lewis and Charles appeared inevitable; and it was not without the most strenuous efforts of personal prowess, that they at length repelled their enemies. But the animated effusions of enthusiasm soon sunk before the increasing numbers and incessant attacks of the besiegers; Liege was carried by storm; the city was devoted to the flames; and the citizens atoned by their blood for the cruelties which they had practised at Tongres.

Lewis had been compelled to contribute his assistance to the reduction of the unhappy people whom he had excited to revolt, and to witness the punishment of a crime which he himself had suggested. He was now permitted to return to France; but before he quitted the dominions of the duke of Burgundy, he enquired of that prince what conduct he expected him to pursue if his brother should not be satisfied with the counties of Champagne and Brie? "In that case," replied Charles, "I shall withdraw all future mediation, and leave you to accommodate your own differences." An important answer, which was hastily given, and which the king of France received with pleasure, and soon converted to his advantage.

A. D. 1469, 1471. The situation of Champagne and Brie, in the vicinity of the Burgundian dominions, would have infallibly cemented the alliance between the two dukes; and Lewis had no sooner arrived at Paris than he exerted his abilities and address to prevail on his brother to accept in exchange the county of Guienne. That prince, weak, and deceived by the marks of kindness which the king affected towards him, complied with the proposal, and changed his title of duke of Normandy to assume that of Guienne. But convinced when it was too late of the error he had committed, and allured by the hopes of a marriage with Mary of Burgundy, the only daughter of and heiress to the vast possessions of Charles, he began to renew his confederacy with that prince and with the duke of Brittany. Before their measures were ripe, Lewis himself had determined on open hostilities: He had reluctantly yielded the towns of the Somme, which exposed Picardy to the controul of his rival; and he now prepared to recover by arms what he had lost by his imprudence. As a peer of France, the duke of Burgundy was summoned to the parliament of Paris; and on his refusal, the constable St. Pol invested and possessed himself of St. Quentin. Amiens, Roie, and Mondidier soon after opened their gates to the French; and Charles

was less dismayed by the loss of these cities than by the defection of his natural brother, Baldwin, whose fidelity Lewis had corrupted. Uncertain whom to trust, and doubtful of the event of war, the haughty disposition of Charles condescended to solicit a peace: To enforce his proposal, he crossed the Somme with a numerous army; and Lewis, swayed by his natural irresolution, consented to a truce for a year.

When the king of France first re-
solved to attack the duke of Burgundy, A. D. 1470, 1471
he was encouraged in that enterprize by a new revolution in England. The earl of Warwick, whose valour and popularity had contributed so eminently to raise Edward the Fourth to the throne, had quitted the cause of that prince in disgust, and espoused the claim of Henry the Sixth, from whose feeble hand he had formerly wrested the sceptre. Charles of Burgundy had married the sister of Edward; and Lewis, impelled by his natural enmity to the allies and connections of Charles, furnished Warwick with a fleet to escort him, and granted him a supply of men and money. That nobleman landed at Dartmouth; and the spirit of discontent soon swelled his martial train to an army of sixty thousand men: Near Nottingham, the camp of Edward was betrayed by the secret adherents of the house of Lancaster, and the partizans of Warwick. Edward himself, amidst the

confusion of a nocturnal tumult, eluded the search of his enemies, and with a small retinue fled to Lynn in Norfolk; there he fortunately found some ships ready, in which he embarked, and escaped with difficulty into the port of Alcmaer in Holland.

But the hopes which Lewis might entertain from the restoration of Henry the Sixth, were soon dissipated by a second revolution equally rapid and extraordinary. Although the repeated information which Charles had conveyed to his brother-in-law of the designs of Warwick had been disregarded, yet interest and inclination prompted him to make some efforts in the support of so near a kinsman; and he dreaded lest Henry and Lewis should overwhelm him with their united arms: He determined however to conceal his preparations as much as possible, and if unsuccessful to disavow them. Four large vessels were equipped at Terveer in Zealand; and fourteen ships were secretly hired from the *Hanseatic League*; a confederacy which originated with the cities of Lubeck and Hamburgh, and which afterwards included eighty considerable cities, scattered through those countries that stretch from the bottom of the Baltic to Cologne on the Rhine. With this small squadron Edward, impatient for revenge, steered towards England: After an ineffectual attempt on the coast of Norfolk, he landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire;

Yorkshire; he soon obtained possession of the city of York; and by the accession of his adherents found himself at the head of a formidable army. By secret and rapid marches he evaded the forces of Warwick, posted near Leicester; presented himself at the gates, and was received by the citizens of London. In the battle of Barnet he defeated Warwick, who perished in the field; in a second action near Tewkesbury he again triumphed over the Lancastrians; and the murder of Henry the Sixth, and that of his only son, seemed to extinguish the hopes of the party, and finally to secure the crown to the house of York.

The success of his brother-in-law revived the ambition of the duke of Burgundy; he resumed his negotiations with the king of England, the duke of Brittany, and the duke of Guienne. The latter prince was again allured by the hopes of marrying Margaret of Burgundy. But while the designs of the confederates presented the fairest prospect, it was again overcast by the sudden and mysterious death of the duke of Guienne; an event so fortunate for Lewis as to occasion an universal suspicion of his having hastened it by poison. A variety of circumstances combined with the character of Lewis to confirm the public opinion. The abbot of St. John d'Angeli, on whom the

A.D. 1472.

general voice had fixed as the instrument of this atrocious deed, was found, in the morning appointed for his trial, strangled, and lying dead in his cell; and it was commonly believed that the king had not hesitated to conceal the first crime by the perpetration of a second. With a conduct equally dark and designing, he procured documents tending to trace the authors of his brother's fate to be brought to him; he even appointed commissioners to enter upon their examination; but this tribunal was not allowed to come to any decision, although the members of it were rewarded by Lewis, who eagerly seized Guienne, and reunited it to the crown of France.

The indignation and resentment of the duke of Burgundy were aroused by the deplorable and unexpected death of his ally; he entered Picardy with an army, determined to wreak his vengeance on the unhappy subjects of the unnatural Lewis, and to sacrifice to the memory of the duke of Guienne every inhabitant who fell into his power. The unfortunate citizens of Nelles were the first to encounter his fury, and were involved in a promiscuous massacre, without respect to sex or age. But Beauvais, confident in her walls and the strength of her garrison, derided his menaces, and repulsed his attacks while Charles, disappointed in this attempt, raised the
hopeless

hopeless siege, entered the county of Caux, seized the cities of Eu and St. Valery, delivered Longueville to the flames, and extended his devastations as far as the gates of Rouen.

Lewis, uniform and constant in his designs, had, during the invasion of his furious rival, encamped on the frontiers of Brittany, determined to dissolve the league between Francis and Edward the Fourth. The latter prince, occupied in the internal regulation of his own kingdom, was deterred from affording that ready succour which his allies required; and the duke of Brittany, unable to face the royal army of Lewis, subscribed a truce for a year: His example was followed by the duke of Burgundy, whose impolitic violence in destroying the open country had proved fatal to his own designs, and compelled him for want of subsistence to retire towards his own dominions, and to agree to a cessation of hostilities.

This interval from war was diligently employed by each prince in endeavours A. D. 1473. to increase the number of his own adherents, and to corrupt those of his adversary. Of the nobles of France, Lewis of Luxemburgh, count de St. Pol and constable of that kingdom, claimed the pre-eminence in power and abilities: His territories lay between the king's and those of the duke of Burgundy; St. Quintin, Ham, and

Bohain acknowledged his authority ; and the revenue which he drew from his posts, and the martial train which he maintained, resembled rather the establishment of a sovereign than a subject. At the battle of Montleheri he had distinguished himself as one of the most active chiefs of the league ; and though he had since preserved the external appearance of allegiance to Lewis, yet he had never hesitated to engage in every rebellious negotiation. To reconcile some differences which had arisen between the king and himself, he had insulted the dignity of the crown by insisting on a personal conference ; and at their interview he studiously affected to display his distrust by the precautions which he openly made use of, and the number of armed partizans by which he was attended. From this conference he retired, after vowing inviolable fidelity in future, to enter into fresh intrigues with Edward the Fourth of England, and with the duke of Burgundy.

Though Edward considered himself but little indebted to the duke of Burgundy for the reception which Charles had given him during his exile, yet policy induced these princes to maintain a close connection, and they agreed to unite their arms in making a powerful invasion on France. A league was formed, in which Edward stipulated to pass the seas with an army exceeding ten thousand

land men, and to invade the French territories; Charles promised to join him with all his forces. The king of England was to challenge the crown of France, and to obtain at least the provinces of Normandy and Guienne; the duke was to acquire Champagne, and some adjacent districts, and to free his dominions from homage; neither party was to make peace without the consent of the other. The interest of the duke of Brittany they naturally concluded would induce him to join their standard; and the count de St. Pol had secretly engaged to receive the English into St. Quintin, and into the other towns which he occupied on the river Somme.

The situation of Lewis was at least delicate if not dangerous; and he was A.D. 1474. preserved from the storm equally by his own dexterity and the indiscretion of his adversaries. The king of England had passed over to Calais with an army of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thousand archers; but the impatient temper of the duke of Burgundy could ill brook the necessary delay which attended the levying so formidable a force; Enamoured of new designs, he had already engaged in a quarrel with the whole Germanic body by laying siege to the town of Nuiz on the Rhine; and while he pertinaciously adhered to this enterprize, he in vain endeavoured
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in person to excuse his breach of treaty, and to extort the approbation of his ally to a measure so fatal to their mutual interests. Yet Edward advanced into Picardy, in expectation that the constable would at least have performed his promise, and delivered into his hands the town of St. Quentin; but St. Pol, by a double piece of treachery, deceived his allies, and enabled Lewis to dissolve a league, which if it had been strictly maintained, might have renewed the disastrous defeats of Crecy and Azincourt.

A.D. 1475. Lewis, sensible of his inability to oppose the confederates by arms, had recourse to artifice and negotiation, his usual engines: Swayed more by political views than the point of honour, he deemed no submissions too mean which might free him from his enemies. Edward, voluptuous and indolent, and dissatisfied with his allies, lent a ready ear to his proposals. The king of France stipulated to pay to the king of England seventy-five thousand crowns, on his consenting immediately to repass the seas: To this condition was added another, which plainly proclaimed the ignominious badge of tribute; fifty thousand crowns a year were settled on Edward for his life; and the last article betrothed the dauphin when of age to the eldest daughter of the king of England. In vain did the duke of Burgundy loudly

loudly clamour against this injurious treaty; Edward, unmoved by his reproaches, and Lewis, indifferent to his menaces, ratified the peace at a personal interview at Pecquigny, near Amiens. Yet the lapse of successive years had not effaced the guilty conference of Montereau; and the two monarchs in their preparations seem to have been actuated by a mutual distrust. In the middle of the bridge of Pecquigny, a grated barrier was erected, the intervals of which would only allow an arm to pass; on opposite sides the two princes appeared; and after conferring privately together, and confirming the articles of peace, they parted with liberal but hollow professions of reciprocal friendship and esteem.

Yet however the abject concessions of Lewis might degrade the dignity of the king of France, his soul on this occasion seemed not destitute of humanity; and amidst a variety of interested intrigues, one action of genuine liberality commands our attention and admiration. Margaret, the unfortunate widow of Henry the Sixth, was ransomed from Edward by Lewis for the sum of fifty thousand crowns; and that princess, after having experienced so many vicissitudes of life, after having beheld the untimely fate of her husband, her son, and the noble followers of her fortune, found a safe asylum in France, where she passed the remainder

mainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy.

Although Edward had so little reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, he reserved to that prince a power of acceding to the treaty of Pecquigny; but Charles, naturally haughty, replied that he was able to support himself without the assistance of England, and that he would make no peace with Lewis till three months after the return of Edward into his own country. To this resolution he adhered; but that period was no sooner elapsed than he negotiated and concluded a truce for nine years.

When these princes agreed to suspend their active enmity for so long a term, the public articles they subscribed contained only mutual stipulations for the common advantages of their subjects; but in private they had signed an agreement of different import. The perfidy of the count de St. Pol had rendered him obnoxious to all parties, and his ruin was secretly determined; on the first intelligence of the implacable resentment of Lewis, the constable, confounded and irresolute, had fled to Mons in Hainault. But the duke of Burgundy had already consented to deliver him up; and the count de St. Pol, after a hasty trial, was condemned, and executed on a public scaffold. His fate was the merited consequence of his repeated
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acts of perfidy and ingratitude; yet the composure and undaunted courage with which he encountered death, effaced the remembrance of his guilt; and posterity has not failed to brand the avarice and rapacity of Charles of Burgundy, who stipulated the estates and moveables of St. Pol as the price of the unhappy fugitive whom he betrayed.

Chapter the Twentieth.

WARS OF CHARLES THE BOLD, DUKE OF BURGUNDY.
 —DEATH OF THAT PRINCE.—BURGUNDY AND
 ARTOIS RE-ANNEXED TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE.
 —ACQUISITION OF PROVENCE.—DEATH OF LEWIS
 THE ELEVENTH.—SKETCH OF THE CONSTITU-
 TION OF FRANCE FROM THE ACCESSION OF HUGH
 CAPET TO THE DEATH OF LEWIS THE ELEVENTH.

LEWIS had effectually extinguished
 A.D. 1476. the enmity or ambition of the king
 of England by a servile compliance with the de-
 mand of tribute, which he in vain endeavoured
 to disguise under the name of a pension; he had
 compelled the duke of Brittany to subscribe a new
 and separate treaty, by which he renounced all
 alliances with the enemies of France; by the exe-
 cution of the count of St. Pol he had struck terror
 into the seditious vassals of the crown; but the
 duke of Burgundy was still a rival, whose grow-
 ing

ing greatness haunted his imagination, and claimed his constant attention. That prince had lately reduced the city of Nancy, and added the country of Lorraine to his former dominions. But Charles possessed the courage and ambition of a conqueror, without the prudence or policy of a statesman: Ever ardent in his enterprises, his restless disposition on some imaginary insult precipitated him against the Swiss, a virtuous and hardy people, who had purchased their freedom by the boldest opposition to Austrian tyranny, and who cherished it with an enthusiastic affection amidst their lakes and mountains.

The Swiss in vain attempted to deprecate the wrath of Charles by the most humble applications for peace; in vain did they offer to abandon all alliances that were contrary to his interest, and for a small subsidy to supply him with a body of six thousand men to serve indiscriminately against his enemies. Charles was deaf to every proposal, however submissive or advantageous; he entered a bleak and mountainous country, which only could recompence his hazard and toils with barren laurels. After reducing some inconsiderable places, he laid siege to Granfon: That town was defended by the obstinate valour of seven or eight hundred Swiss, zealous in the cause of their country, and resolute to vindicate their liberty.

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The cantons of Berne, Lausanne, Fribourg, and Zurich, armed in their behalf: But Granfon had surrendered at discretion, and the garrison had already been sacrificed to the resentment of Charles, before the confederates could arrive. The duke of Burgundy, after this example of severity, might have maintained the advantageous post he had occupied, and derided the efforts of his enemies; whom poverty must soon have compelled to disperse. But he obstinately rejected the advice of his most experienced officers, and pressed forwards to the fatal conflict. Confiding in the superior numbers and discipline of an army, which is represented as amounting to fifty thousand men, he precipitately entered the defiles of the mountains, and was encountered and defeated by scarce ten thousand Swiss, hastily collected and rudely armed, but animated by an invincible love of freedom. Yet the Swiss, destitute of cavalry, were unable to continue the pursuit and improve the advantage. In the action of Granfon, the duke of Burgundy lost only seven men at arms; but his military chest, his superb plate, and his jewels, the most splendid in Europe, were the prey of the victors; and the Swiss were first taught the value of riches from the magnificent spoils of the field.

A mind elated by constant prosperity could ill submit to the iron scourge of adversity; the disappointment

appointment of Charles was attended by a severe indisposition: But he could scarce raise himself from the couch of sickness before he resumed his arms, and prepared to efface the shame of his late defeat. By language the most submissive, and by professions the most lavish, he endeavoured to secure the neutrality of the king of France: That monarch, though he affected to behold with unconcern, diligently watched the measures of his rival; wary and cautious, he himself still declined to engage in open hostilities, but with his gold he nursed the hopes, and fortified the independent spirits of the Swiss; while Charles, inaccessible to council, and bent on destruction, re-assembled his scattered forces; and in four months from the defeat of Granson, with an army of twenty-three thousand men, he invested Morat, a small town near the city of Berne.

The Swiss, reinforced by the confederate cities of Germany, might compose a body of thirty thousand men: Their valour was directed by the experience, and inflamed by the example of René, duke of Lorrain, whose territories the duke of Burgundy had seized, and who was now inspired with a thirst of vengeance, and the hopes of returning dominion. Charles, on intelligence of their approach, raised the siege of Morat, and advanced to meet them. But his impetuosity was

ill-seconded by his troops; the steady courage of the Swiss triumphed over all obstacles; a body of four thousand horse completed the confusion of the vanquished; and eighteen thousand Burgundians were supposed to have perished in the battle of Morat: The duke of Burgundy himself continued his flight beyond the mountains; and it was not till he arrived at St. Claud, that he considered himself in safety.

The actions of Granson and Morat convinced Lewis that he could not more effectually atchieve the destruction of the duke than by abandoning him to his own unbridled passions, and to the war against the Swiss, which he still persevered in with incredible obstinacy. The late defeats had cooled the ardour of his allies, and confirmed the confidence of his enemies; the duke of Lorraine had recovered the city of Nancy, and great part of his dominions; while Charles, overwhelmed with shame and indignation, passed his melancholy hours at la Riviere, and secluded himself almost from the sight of his most confidential ministers.

But the loss of Nancy roused him from his lethargy; and he endeavoured in vain to recover that city, by those efforts which might have preserved it. He invested it with a third army against the advice of his most experienced officers; but Charles, conscious of his own breach of faith

to the count de St. Pol, had ever since the death of that nobleman been distrustful of his subjects, and strove to secure his person by the attachment of foreigners. Among these, the count de Campobasso, a native of Naples, and exiled thence as a partizan of the House of Anjou, held the principal place in his favour. Whatever motives might stipulate him, Campobasso repaid the kindness of the duke with the blackest ingratitude and basest treason; it is obscurely hinted that he once suffered from the ungovernable rage of Charles, the indignity of a blow; but all historians agree, that he repeatedly offered to the king of France to deliver up to him his master, alive or dead. Though Lewis was but little scrupulous in the measures which he adopted, he abhorred a treachery which dissolved all ties between the prince and his servant; he even revealed the design to the duke of Burgundy: But the character of Lewis induced Charles to despise the intelligence. "If it were true, the king would never impart to me so important a secret," was the reply of Charles; who even redoubled his marks of confidence and attachment to the perfidious Neapolitan.

The duke of Burgundy was still occupied in the siege of Nancy, which A. D. 1477. he pressed, regardless of the inclemency of win-

ter, when he was alarmed by the approach of a numerous army of Germans, commanded by the duke of Lorraine, who diligently advanced to the relief of his capital. Charles quitted his entrenchments to meet his enemies; his army, scarce amounting to four thousand men, harrassed by incessant service, and dispirited by former defeats, was soon broken by the superior numbers of the Germans. Charles himself in vain fought with the most heroic courage, and exposed his person wherever the danger was most conspicuous; when the route became general, he was borne away in the flight. Campobasso, who had deserted previous to the action with about eighty men at arms, left twelve or fifteen men about the duke's person, with a strict command to assassinate him amidst the tumult: These executed their detestable commission too faithfully; and two days afterwards the body of Charles was found dead, naked, and frozen; and pierced with three wounds.

Thus fell the last male heir of the house of Burgundy, a victim to his own ill-concerted enterprises and presumptuous courage. Lewis, sensible of his danger and anxious for his fate, at the moment of his death, was at his favourite residence of Pleffis les Tours; he received the intelligence with immoderate joy: and the liberal recompence

compence he bestowed on the messenger proclaimed his unbounded transports at the destruction of his rival. The death of Charles opened a wide and flattering prospect to his ambition; That prince left behind him an empty treasury, a feeble council, and an army without courage or discipline. His only daughter, Mary, had not yet attained her twentieth year; and during the life of her father she had been successively promised to several different princes, according as their alliances were favourable to the ambitious projects he entertained. Several of the provinces which Mary inherited had been dismembered from the kingdom of France; and the dominions of Lewis, which stretched along the frontier of her territories, pointed out to his hopes the favourable moment of aggrandisement.

That he might be able to exert his whole force on this occasion, he refused to support the pretensions of the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, and whom he had compelled to marry Jane, his youngest daughter, a princess ignorant, deformed, and deemed incapable of bearing children. The untimely fate of Galeas, duke of Milan, who was assassinated in the midst of his guards, seemed to open a desirable opportunity for the duke of Orleans to substantiate the claims to that duchy, which he derived from his grandmother Valentia Viscomti; but Lewis, whose natural

jealousy would probably have prevented him from countenancing the measure, was now solely engrossed by the expectation of uniting to his crown the dominions of the house of Burgundy. Two paths presented themselves to his view: The first was the marriage of the dauphin, the second that of the count of Angouleme, a prince of the blood, with the daughter of the late duke. By the former he would have annexed all her territories to his own, and rendered France the most powerful monarch in Europe; but one obstacle intervened in the disparity of age between the dauphin, then only eight years old, and Mary, who was already twenty. The Flemings also regarded with distrust the choice of a master possessed of such resources as might enable him to oppress their liberties; and the dread of whose government was increased by the odious maxims which he publicly professed. From these objections the count of Angouleme was free; and Mary herself had discovered some inclination to bestow her hand on that prince. By this marriage Lewis would have prevented her dominions from being conveyed to a rival power; and in return for the splendid establishment which the count of Angouleme would obtain, he might have stipulated concessions highly beneficial to the crown of France. But that monarch had been so long accustomed to tread the crooked paths of insidious policy, that

that he despised the plain and open road; and whether actuated by the dread of aggrandising a subject, or his unrelenting detestation of the race of Burgundy, he adopted a course less likely to succeed, but better adapted to his genius, and more consistent with his disposition.

While he amused Mary with insisting on the impracticable match with the dauphin, he proposed to render himself, by force of arms, master of her dominions. He addressed circular letters to the principal cities of the duchy, representing that Burgundy had only been given by king John to the male heirs of his son Philip, and that it now consequently reverted to the crown. Though he was sensible that this plea could impose on none, yet he was satisfied that it might afford an excuse to those whom the more persuasive arguments of interest should allure to his standard. The governors of the towns were corrupted to desert their sovereign; the inhabitants were seduced to rise against those governors who preserved their allegiance; and upon the approach of Lewis, Ham, Peronne, St. Quintin, Roie, Mondidier, Vervins and Landrecy, opened their gates to him. The states assembled at Dijon were summoned to yield obedience to the king; these complied upon the express condition, that a general amnesty should be granted to all those who had served the late

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duke,

duke, or who were still attached to the prince's his daughter; and that the king should evacuate the duchy in case Charles, their rightful prince, again appeared; a stipulation founded on a report which was eagerly circulated, that Charles had escaped the disastrous field of Nancy, and had retired to Jerusalem to pass the remainder of his days in solitude and penitence.

The province of Artois was subdued by the same means as the county of Burgundy; but Flanders resisted the arms and arts of the king of France. Oliver le Dain, who though at first only barber to Lewis, soon acquired the confidence of that monarch, held intelligence with the inhabitants of Ghent; but disappointed in his hopes of exciting these to revolt against Mary, he retired precipitately to Tournay, whose citizens readily listened to his splendid promises, and opened their gates to a detachment of the French. Meanwhile Dammartin, grand master to Lewis, surprised and levelled Avesne to the ground, burnt Cassel, and ravaged the open country with that spirit of devastation which could only be suggested by his unfeeling sovereign.

Now were the talents and industry of Lewis less displayed in the cabinet than in the field. His practices unfold a series of the meanest falsehood, and the deepest treachery. He negotiated with

Mary; and in order to render her odious to her subjects, he betrayed to them her most important secrets, he carried on a private correspondence with the two ministers whom she chiefly trusted, and then communicated the letters which he had received from them to the states of Flanders; who, enraged at their perfidy, brought them immediately to trial, tortured them with extreme cruelty, and unmoved by the tears and entreaties of their sovereign, who knew and approved of all that the ministers had done, they beheaded them in her presence.

But the perfidy which Lewis practised against the ministers, and the fury with which he ravaged the fertile fields of the Flemings, instead of subduing, served only to confirm the aversion of that people to his government: and Mary, with the approbation of the States of Flanders, bestowed her hand and noble inheritance on Maximilian, archduke of Austria, and son of the emperor Frederick the Third; the king of France, alarmed at having thus unexpectedly aggrandized a rival power, endeavoured to counterbalance the error by an alliance with Edward the Fourth of England. He had previously infected that monarch, who was frequently actuated by passions unworthy of a sovereign and a statesman, with a jealousy of his brother Clarence; this had induced

induced the king of England to neglect the advances which were made of marrying Clarence to Mary of Burgundy, and inclined him to behold with indifference the conquest of Lewis over that country; he now consented to convert the truce formerly concluded into a solid peace; which was to continue during the joint lives of the two kings, and for a year after.

A.D. 1478. The independence of Flanders was fortified by the union of Maximilian with Mary; and by the return of the prince of Orange to the party of that princess, the flames of war were again extended to the cities of Burgundy. The French were expelled from several considerable towns; and Lewis had reason hourly to apprehend the entire revolt of that country, when his fears were dissipated by unexpected overtures of peace from Maximilian. The commissioners of the two monarchs concluded a truce at Lens, without expressing any term for its duration, and without including the county of Burgundy, which was soon again reduced by the arms of Lewis.

This suspension of public hostilities could scarce be called a state of tranquillity to the unhappy subjects of France; with his years the sanguinary disposition of Lewis increased; he had nourished an incessant desire of vengeance against James
d'Ar-

d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, one of the first noblemen in the kingdom, and who had appeared a zealous confederate in the "*League for the public Good.*" The authority of the sovereign, gradually extended, no longer knew any bounds but his own will; the execution of the count de St. Pol had broken the spirits of the nobility of France; and Lewis resolved to satiate his thirst of revenge on the duke of Nemours. That unfortunate nobleman, to avoid the resentment of his royal master, had retired to the fortress of Carlat, among the mountains of Auvergne. He was there besieged by the seigneur de Beaujeu, who had married Anne, the daughter of Lewis: But the situation of the castle rendered it almost inaccessible by force; and the duke of Nemours received the most solemn assurances of safety, if he would surrender himself. Confiding in the honour of his enemy, he complied; but the king, who sported with all the ties of virtue and society, caused him, in violation of his solemn compact, to be carried to the Bastile: He was confined within an iron cage, the familiar instrument of his sovereign's cruelty; even the judges, who reluctantly condemned him to be beheaded, were reprimanded because they had released him from the narrow circle of his confinement during his examination. The inhumanity of the king extended beyond the sentence, to
insult

insult the offspring and embitter the last moments of the unhappy criminal: By an unprecedented refinement in cruelty, he commanded the two sons of the duke, as yet in early childhood, and consequently incapable of any participation in his treason, to be placed directly under the scaffold; where they were covered with the blood of their wretched father, which descended on their heads.

The concurring testimonies of contemporary historians scarce allow us to credit the various barbarities which stamp with indelible infamy the reign of Lewis: Four thousand persons, without the form of trial, are supposed to have perished the unhappy victims of his bloody suspicions and resentments: Yet while we detest his cruelty, we are frequently compelled to acknowledge his firmness and sagacity. The wealth of the family of the Medici, acquired by trade, and the magnificent spirit of the first Cosmo, gave him such an ascendancy over his countrymen, that though the forms of a popular government were preserved, he was in reality the head of the commonwealth. A considerable degree of his power he transmitted to his descendants; his grandsons, Laurence and Julian, had rendered themselves obnoxious to pope Sixtus the Fourth; and the holy successor of St. Peter did not hesitate to engage the envy of some citizens of Florence in a conspiracy

spiracy against the lives of the Medici. The church was fixed on as the scene of action; Julian perished by the daggers of the assassins; but Laurence was preserved amidst the tumult by the zeal and fidelity of his friends. At the same moment the troops of Sixtus entered the territories of Florence, and extended their devastations to the gates of the city. The house of Medici, unequal to the contest, implored the protection of the king of France. Lewis, though the slave of the most abject superstition, asserted on this occasion the pretensions of Laurence against the Roman pontiff; and the court of Rome, after an ineffectual display of those arts for which she was celebrated, was compelled to recall her censures, and to yield to the powerful mediation of the king of France.

To secure more firmly the friendship of England, Lewis contracted the daughter A. D. 1479. to Elisabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward the Fourth; while Maximilian, ardent and fickle in his enterprises, resumed his claim to Burgundy, and renewed the war before the expiration of the truce. A variety of desultory actions, and the mutual destruction of cities, can afford but little entertainment to the reader; the hostile armies at length engaged at Guinegate; the Flemings were broken

broken by the impetuous charge of the French; but the victory was ravished from the latter by their own imprudence: While they heedlessly urged the pursuit, the infantry of the Flemings rallied, and returned to the charge; yet the field seems only to have been distinguished by the indiscriminate slaughter of both parties; and the king of France soon obtained a more decisive advantage at sea, by the capture of fourscore vessels belonging to the Flemings; a loss sensibly felt by a commercial people.

A. D. 1480. Their late disaster inclined the states of Flanders to peace, and a truce was agreed to by Lewis, who previously terminated a languid and uninteresting war, which he had entered into with Ferdinand, king of Arragon. But nature was oppressed by his continual and unwearied application to business; and at a village near Chinon, in Touraine, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy. Two days he lay motionless and speechless; at the end of which time his voice and intellects returned, but not the health he had formerly enjoyed: Yet his indisposition prevented him not from adjusting the affairs of Savoy, and declaring himself the protector of his infant nephew Charles. With the same zeal he applied himself to establish the tranquil succession of his own son by crushing the nobles who were most capable of resistance;

resistance; he seized without a shadow of pretence the lands of the duke of Bourbon, the only prince who possessed qualities which could give him any jealousy; yet the dauphin, for whose future grandeur he so assiduously waded through seas of blood, he kept a sort of prisoner in the castle of Amboise, where none were permitted to approach him except servants and persons of the meanest condition; his own consort, whose patient and enduring attachment merited a better treatment, he banished into Savoy; and by his last will he expressly precluded her from any share in the government, and endeavoured to inspire his son with sentiments of distrust and aversion towards his mother.

The death of Charles, titular king A. D.
of Naples, and the last prince of the 1481, 1482.
second House of Anjou, added at this juncture the county of Provence to the crown; but while Lewis was employed in securing this new acquisition a second stroke of an apoplexy warned him of his approaching end. Yet he again revived; and allured by the death of Mary of Burgundy, who died by a fall from her horse in hunting, he resumed his ambitious intrigues. The fate of that princess opened the way to a pacification between the king of France and Maximilian; and the infant daughter of the latter was affianced to the son of the former.

BUT the king of England, whose principal views were directed to obtain splendid establishments for his daughters, and who had contracted his eldest, Elizabeth, to the dauphin, prepared to revenge by arms the breach of faith in Lewis. That monarch, with his usual art, endeavoured to avert the storm by inciting James, king of Scotland, to make war upon England. But James fell the victim to a conspiracy of his own nobles; and Edward, bursting from the silken bands of pleasure, pursued with diligence his preparations for the invasion of France; when his designs were broken by the sudden stroke of death, and his decease again plunged his country into all the miseries of civil commotion, from which it had enjoyed so short a respite.

But while the fortune of the king of
A.D. 1483. France, who on every side beheld his enemies humbled and his power increased, was the envy of the neighbouring princes; the object of that envy was himself anxiously employed in the hopeless endeavour to prolong a miserable existence. Every resource of medicine was in vain exhausted; every benefit that could be derived from change of climate was in vain experienced; and Lewis, after ineffectually seeking rest through his spacious dominions, at last fixed his final residence at Plessis les Tours. The walls of that castle were covered

vered with iron spikes; a guard of cross bow-men watched the gates and ramparts night and day; and the guilty tyrant heard his enemies in every passing wind. Earth was in vain ransacked to revive his jaded appetites; Heaven was in vain invoked with prayers and processions, to avert his impending doom; all hope was fled; and his favourite, Oliver le Dain, pronounced to him the sentence of certain and approaching dissolution; the king heard him without betraying any emotions of terror; he sent for his son Charles from Amboise, and employed his last moments in advising him to cherish the princes of his blood; to govern by the counsels of his nobles; to maintain the established laws of the kingdom; and to diminish the extraordinary imposts with which he had burdened his subjects. This last effort exhausted the strength of the fainting monarch; and after a reign of twenty-three years, which by the acquisition of Burgundy, Artois, and Provence, laid the foundation of the subsequent grandeur of France, Lewis, in the sixty-first year of his age, expired. Dreaded by his subjects, whom he had continually oppressed, and detested by his neighbours, whom he had assiduously deceived, he yet obtained from the obsequious temper of the representative of St. Peter, the title of the Christian king; a title that has been invariably transmitted to his successors.

The dark and subtle character of Lewis the Eleventh is sufficiently illustrated by a review of his reign; but the arts by which he undermined the freedom of the people, humbled the pride of the nobility, established a standing army, and converted a limited into a despotic government, will, in tracing the constitution of France, become the object of our future enquiry. When that throne was occupied by Hugh Capet, the founder of the third race of kings, the royal authority had dwindled into contempt; the governors of provinces and of towns, and the great officers of the crown, had rendered those dignities, originally granted only during pleasure or for life, hereditary in their families. Each of these had usurped all the rights which had hitherto been deemed the distinctions of royalty; and every lord in his district pursued a distinct and separate interest. Scarce any common principle of union remained in a kingdom divided into so many independent baronies; and the general assembly, in its deliberations, could hardly consider the nation as forming one body, or establish common regulations to be of equal force in every part. The barons, the members of the supreme assembly, which soon after was distinguished by the name of the *States-General*, avoided enacting any general laws, the execution of which must have been invested

in the king, and would have enlarged that paramount power which was the object of their jealousy : They therefore tacitly relinquished the exercise of the legislative authority, and confined their jurisdiction to the imposition of new taxes, the determination of questions with respect to the right of succession to the crown, the settling the regency when the preceding monarch had not fixed it by will, and the presenting remonstrances enumerating the grievances of which the nation wished to obtain redress.

But as the kings of France, during some centuries, but seldom required extraordinary subsidies from their subjects, and as they were still less inclined to listen to the clamorous remonstrances of the States-General, these assemblies were rarely summoned. The legislative authority, silently abandoned by the States, was assumed gradually by the crown : The descendants of Hugh Capet had indeed already promulgated their laws within their own immediate domains ; but the reign of Philip Augustus is marked by the first ordinance, which appears to have been an act of legislation extending to the whole kingdom. It was the care of that monarch to allure his subjects to acquiescence by the prudent objects of his edicts ; from the mild tenor in which they were issued they seemed rather to exhort than command ; and

the style in which they were composed, rather proclaimed the provident parent anxious for his childrens' welfare, than the dictates of an imperious and arbitrary master. The celebrated institutions of St. Lewis, which abolished judicial combats, are distinguished by the same prominent features. The wisdom and equity of his code, which at first was only published to be observed within his own domains, ensured it a favourable reception throughout the kingdom; and the virtues and good intentions of its author contributed to reconcile the nation to that legislative authority which the king began to assume.

The people, from this period, were accustomed to behold their kings exercising the sole legislative power; and the steps which led from this important acquisition to the right of imposing taxes were few and easy. The subjects, habituated to obey in points of the greatest consequence, were not alarmed when they were required by the royal edicts to contribute certain sums toward supplying the exigencies of government, and carrying forward the measures of the nation. The principal nobility of that kingdom who might have successfully resisted the extension of the regal prerogative, had exhausted their fortunes, or yielded up their lives in the destructive wars which clouded the reigns of John the Good and Charles the Sixth: The remnant which still maintained their dignity, looked

looked up to Charles the Seventh as their deliverer from the yoke of the English. That monarch was not insensible to the advantages of his own situation, and the manifest decline of the body which he wished to depress. He embraced the first interval of peace to raise the regal prerogative on the ruins of the aristocracy, and to new model the constitution. The happy complexion of the times allowed him to introduce innovations the most important without the least opposition. Disgusted with the capricious service of the vassals of the crown, and under pretence of keeping always on foot a force sufficient to defend the kingdom against any sudden invasion of the English, he retained under arms a body of nine thousand cavalry, and of sixteen thousand infantry.

To provide the funds for the subsistence of this formidable standing army, he ventured by his royal edict, and without the concurrence of the States-General of the kingdom, to levy an extraordinary subsidy on his people. By his conciliating address he also prevailed on them to render several taxes perpetual, which had been formerly imposed only occasionally and during a short time. Thus while he freed the crown from a precarious dependance in regard to its revenues on the will of the people, he mortally wounded the aristocracy by depriving the nobles of the direction of the military force of the
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the state ; a source from whence they had formerly derived their principal influence and importance.

The system which had been cautiously and covertly pursued by Charles, was more openly adopted, and more vigorously embraced by his son and successor, Lewis the Eleventh. Yet the daring spirit which his early measures proclaimed, gave a transient union to the nobility, whom he wished to oppress ; a momentary sally of resentment linked them in one great plan of defence ; and Lewis beheld with terror a confederacy which was dignified by the appellation of *The League for the public Good*. A body composed of such discordant members could not long retain its stability ; it was soon dissolved by the arts of Lewis ; and the monarch, to avert the danger of a future confederacy, steadily persevered in the plan of more silently, though not less effectually, extinguishing the privileges of the nobles. He filled all the departments of government with new men, and often with persons whom he had called from the lowest and most despised functions in life, and raised at pleasure to stations of great power or trust : These were his only confidants whom he consulted in forming his enterprises, and on whom he devolved the execution of them. The barons, removed from the throne, were treated with studied neglect ; every artifice was employed to lessen them in the estimation of the people ; and the king assiduously laboured

laboured to degrade the order, and to reduce the members of it to the same level with his other subjects. No sooner had the subtle monarch proscribed his nobility from offices of trust, and despoiled them of popularity, than he threw off the mask, and displayed the open features of the bloody and unfeeling tyrant. Those persons of rank who presumed to oppose his schemes, or were so unfortunate as to awaken his jealousy, were persecuted with a rigour from which the pride of birth had hitherto exempted them. They were tried by judges who had no right to take cognizance of their actions; they were subjected to the most severe tortures; and were frequently condemned to execution on the public scaffold, without regard to their illustrious parentage, or the dignity of their condition. The houses of Luxemburgh and Armagnac were violated by the hands of the common executioner; and the estates of the duke of Bourbon were confiscated by the capricious suspicions of his sovereign.

The people beheld with astonishment, but perhaps with regret, an order of men whom they had been accustomed to regard with a mixture of reverence and fear, shut up in dungeons, carried about in iron cages, or condemned to the most degrading deaths, at the voice of their imperious master; who while he stripped his barons of their power and privileges, daily extended the prerogative

tive of the crown. To the standing forces which his father had raised he added six thousand Swiss, at that time esteemed the best disciplined infantry in Europe, and whom he attached to his service by the most liberal donatives and pay. These he considered as the faithful guardians of his authority; in their valour he implicitly confided; and during the latter part of his reign he kept a considerable body of them encamped in one place.

Such an additional establishment required an augmentation of the royal revenues, and Lewis was not diffident in asserting the prerogative which his father had assumed of levying taxes without the concurrence of the States-General. The imposts which Charles the Seventh had established were nearly trebled by Lewis the Eleventh; and those extraordinary burdens, the odium of which he was unwilling to bear, the subtle monarch imposed through the medium of the States; and daily diminished the popularity of those assemblies, by rendering them the instruments of his exactions. On these occasions he first displayed those arts of corruption in which modern princes have since so eminently excelled; and by influencing the election of representatives, by bribing or overawing the members, by artfully changing the forms of their deliberations, he converted the nominal guardians of the liberties and property of the people

people into the subservient tools and supple ministers of the crown; and while he affected to respect the channel, fatally poisoned the source of freedom.

France by his various acquisitions, and by the persevering policy of his administration, was formed into one compact kingdom, which acknowledged and obeyed the single hand of its master. Yet the despotism of his successors was frequently bounded by two powers, which, in the course of this history, it will be repeatedly necessary for us to advert to. 1. The nobles of France, who, though deprived by Lewis of political privileges, still possessed several personal rights, and maintained in the eyes of the people a degree of lustre and delicacy of character, which frequently checked the daring career of intemperate sovereignty: 2. The parliament of France, and particularly of Paris, which during those intervals that the States-General had been discontinued, had been insensibly and gradually gratified with the important permission of advising their sovereign, and of approving and registering his edicts and ordinances, before they were published and declared to be of authority in the kingdom.

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